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ABSTRACT

This report describes the development of a learning community in a fifth-grade writers' workshop across one school year and two girls' participation in the learning community. The report examines ways in which teacher-researchers' and students' notions and actions regarding collaboration changed; it also describes the curriculum in the writers' workshop in relation to the teacher-researchers' intentions and the way the curriculum was enacted across the year. Using sociolinguistic methodology, the paper analyzes the conversations that took place during October and March group work to understand both the social and academic aspects of talk in relation to the content (what was talked about) and processes (how social relations were achieved and how knowledge was constructed). Ways in which two girls, Nan and Heidi, revised their goals, roles, and actions as collaborators are described. Differences in the learning community in October and March are linked in the paper to differences in the form and substance of the girls' collaboration. The study provides insights into ways more was learned about: (1) when and if students were experiencing the kind of learning community they envisioned; and (2) how to uncover, understand, and explain linkages between the qualities of a learning community and student learning. Nine tables of data and four figures presenting curriculum strands in the writers' workshop, a sample student exercise called an "alphabet page," and two journal entries are included. (Contains 47 references.) (Author/RS)

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Cheryl L. Rosaen
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Center for the Learning and Teaching of Elementary Subjects

Institute for Research on Teaching

College of Education

Michigan State University

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The work is designed to unfold in three phases, beginning with literature review and interview studies designed to elicit and synthesize the points of view of various stakeholders (representatives of the underlying academic disciplines, intellectual leaders and organizations concerned with curriculum and instruction in school subjects, classroom teachers, state- and district-level policymakers) concerning ideal curriculum, instruction, and evaluation practices in these five content areas at the elementary level. Phase II involves interview and observation methods designed to describe current practice, and in particular, best practice as observed in the classrooms of teachers believed to be outstanding. Phase II also involves analysis of curricula (both widely used curriculum series and distinctive curricula developed with special emphasis on conceptual understanding and higher order applications), as another approach to gathering information about current practices. In Phase III, models of ideal practice will be developed, based on what has been learned and synthesized from the first two phases, and will be tested through classroom intervention studies.

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Abstract

This report describes the development of a learning community in a fifth-grade writers' workshop across one school year and two girls' participation in the learning community. It examines ways in which teacher-researchers' and students' notions and actions regarding collaboration changed. The curriculum in the writers' workshop is described in relation to the teacher-researchers' intentions and the way the curriculum was enacted across the year. Using sociolinguistic methodology, the conversations that took place during October and March group work were analyzed to understand both the social and academic aspects of talk in relation to the content (what was talked about) and processes (how social relations were achieved and how knowledge was constructed). Ways in which two girls, Nan and Heidi, revised their goals, roles, and actions as collaborators are described. Differences in the learning community in October and March are linked to differences in the form and substance of the girls' collaboration. This study provides insights into ways the authors learned more about (a) when and if students are experiencing the kind of learning community they envisioned and (b) how to uncover, understand, and explain linkages between the qualities of a learning community and student learning.

CREATING A WRITING COMMUNITY: REVISING COLLABORATIVE GOALS, ROLES AND ACTIONS

Cheryl L. Rosaen with Constanza Hazelwood[1]

Researching the Learning Community

You are invited to sit in on part of a conversation I had with a group of fifth graders near the end of our school year. Among the many things I was curious about was how the students viewed collaboration in our classroom. I wanted to find out what role collaboration may have played in their learning and what they might have valued about their opportunities to collaborate in our writers' workshop. Let's listen in:

Rosaen: Let me ask you a question about collaboration. What does it mean to you to collaborate?

Jake: Oh!

Rosaen: Jake?

Jake: It means, it means like getting a partner and talking, and talking over about something that you're gonna write, like Ed and I talk things, our things over.

Rosaen: OK, what does it mean to you, Nan?

Nan: It means to talk, to talk together.

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[1]Cheryl L. Rosaen, assistant professor of teacher education at Michigan State University, is a senior researcher with the Center for the Learning and Teaching of Elementary Subjects working from 1989-1992 on the Literacy in Science and Social Studies Project at an MSU professional development school. Constanza Hazelwood is a doctoral candidate at MSU and a research assistant with the Center working on the LISSS Project. The authors would like to acknowledge the many contributions of Barbara Lindquist, a fifth-grade teacher who shared her classroom with them to enable coteaching and coresearching across the school year, and the many hours spent discussing student progress, data analysis, and other ideas that contributed to writing this paper. The authors also worked closely from 1989-92 with a group of teacher-researchers in the LISSS Project to improve and study their practice. They would like to acknowledge joint contributions of all project participants in data collection and analysis and in developing the ideas regarding learning community and teaching for understanding that are discussed in this report. Additional project participants are Kathleen Roth (senior researcher), Kathleen Peasley and Corinna Hasbach (research assistants), and Elaine Hoekwater (fifth-grade teacher) and Carol Ligett (third-grade teacher). Hazelwood and Peasley assisted with field notes, audiotaping, and interviewing. Lindquist and Rosaen were responsible for coteaching writing to two classes of fifth graders while conducting research on their teaching and their students' learning. Other project participants taught science and social studies and conducted research on teaching and learning in different collaborative arrangements.

Rosaen: Any other ideas from other people?

Sarah: To share your ideas, basically.

Mona: To share your ideas and gather more data.

Sarah: Yeah, see like if we're both like, if Maria and I were writing two separate stories but they're both about teen romance or something like that, then like Maria can say, "Well, I'm doing this," and then I can say, "Well, I'm doing this." And she can say, "Oh, that might be neat." And like I can take some of her ideas and kind of bring them out farther so it's not the same idea but . . .

Mona: It's close to it.

Sarah: It's close.

Rosaen: Heidi, were you going to add something different?

Heidi: I think collaborating is working with other people, not just one specific person, it's working with other people learning different thoughts from different people.

Rosaen: So, learning from their perspectives too? OK. And, you've already said that in writers' workshop you get together and talk about your writing. How is that helpful to you when you collaborate in writers' workshop?

Nan: Because it gives you more ideas for your stories. It just helps a lot because you hear a lot more ideas, then you can do your stories better.

Rosaen: OK.

Mona: Because you're getting other people's ideas, not just your own perspective, you're getting two perspectives.

You may have noticed that Nan emphasizes talking and getting more ideas, while Heidi values learning and thinking with others.[2] Sarah's experiences with Maria taught her that collaboration includes extending her peer's ideas, while Mona thinks alternative perspectives are an important aspect of collaboration. Talking plays a central role for Jake. All of these ideas were ones that we valued as teachers, ones that we had tried to encourage throughout our year of coteaching and coresearching in a fifth-grade writers' workshop with two groups of fifth graders. Although we did

[2]Pseudonyms are used when discussing students.

not ask the same question about collaboration of our fifth graders at the beginning of the year, we knew there were differences in these students' approaches to collaboration at the beginning of the year compared to what we saw in the classroom as the year evolved. These apparent differences led us to examine more closely the role collaboration may have played in our writing community, and how collaboration may (or may not) have supported our students' learning.

Developing Our Research Focus

With research assistance from Hazelwood and Peasley, I collaborated with Lindquist to plan and teach a writers' workshop across one school year while engaging in qualitative research on our own teaching and our students' learning. This was an opportunity for us to transform our own curriculum and revise our teaching practices to see what kinds of literacy learning can be fostered in a writers' workshop. We studied our teaching and 47 fifth-grade students' developing knowledge, skills, and disposition to write as well as the nature of their participation in our writing community over time.

Power's (1990) discussion of a jazz metaphor[3] captures our vision of the changes we were attempting:

> In the jazz metaphor, people or systems are presented with themes or concepts. Like the jazz musician or fan who develops preferences among different artists and their music, so the practitioner learns to make choices. She may improvise in changing her classroom, experimenting with different "themes" or methods presented to her by other practitioners. (p. 183)
>
> Within a jazz metaphor, teachers aren't "converted" to process theory--they neither accept or reject it. Instead, presentation and understanding of process methods for teachers is seen as a much more complex process. . . . As their personal and professional lives change, they will make new or different links to the individual "improvisations and presentations" they have experienced in the past. (p. 185)

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[3]Power cites Gordon's book *The Myth of Schools' Self-Renewal* published by Teachers College Press, New York (1984) as the source of the jazz metaphor.

We had studied together the literature on creating a writers' workshop and each had prior teaching experiences in which we had tried to implement aspects of this approach to teaching writing. Yet our teaching experiences occurred at different grade levels and we had never taught together. We needed to improvise in ways that would draw on our unique strengths while still providing support to each other as needed in other areas. While Lindquist and I grappled with issues related to our curriculum transformation and our daily teaching, Hazelwood and Peasley assisted in documenting our teaching and the classroom interaction. They helped us stand back from the immediate circumstances to reflect more broadly about how these "improvisations and presentations" (Power, 1990, p. 185) were interpreted by our students.

Throughout the year, developing, describing, and understanding our learning community emerged as a prominent theme. This was not surprising since the literature on writing (e.g., Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1983, 1986, 1991; Canterford, 1991, Cordeiro, 1990; Crafton, 1991; Graves, 1983) and on classrooms in general (Featherstone, 1990; Marshall, 1990; Schwab, 1976) has helped us and other teachers articulate and become more aware of the central role the learning community plays in what gets taught and learned in classrooms. Yet we found the same literature to be less helpful in helping us know (a) when and if we and our students are experiencing the kind of learning community we envision or (b) how we can uncover, understand and explain linkages between the qualities of our learning community and student learning.

Our initial research questions helped us launch a closer examination of these issues: (a) *Knowledge, skills and ways of knowing*: How did the students participate in literacy activities and the writing process? What qualitative changes were evident in written products over the year? What knowledge, skills, and dispositions were developed? (b) *Ways of being in a learning community*: How did students

interpret and participate in the social context in which the literacy activities took place? How did their interpretation and participation shape their writing knowledge and skills and their disposition to write? To what extent did our learning community support *all* children's learning, and which qualities of the learning community were especially important (race, class, gender issues)? As we pursued these questions we began to see how closely they interrelate. We gradually developed a richer picture of how our learning community evolved and how our students experienced its development, both socially and academically.

In this report I describe the development of our learning community across the year and examine ways in which teacher-researchers' and students' notions and actions regarding collaboration changed. I describe our yearlong curriculum and the role that we wanted collaboration to play in it. I also describe the participation of two girls, Heidi and Nan, during two separate occasions. The analysis of their participation was designed to uncover their evolving understandings of the academic and social purposes of collaboration as well as how they actually collaborated over time. The first example took place on two days in October during a unit in which students were assigned to collaborate in groups of four to create their own alphabet page patterned after pages in Graeme Base's (1986) book Animalia. The second example took place in March during independent writing time when Nan and Heidi collaborated to compose a story centered around the experiences of two teenage girls. These examples illustrate ways in which Heidi and Nan revised their goals, roles and actions as collaborators in our writers' workshop across the year. The examples also raise questions about the ways in which our curriculum, the broader learning community, and teacher and student roles and responsibilities in each instance may have influenced their academic and social participation.

Methodology

The Students and the School

One fifth-grade class included 22 students and the other 25. The 47 fifth graders were predominantly Caucasian and included one African-American student, three Hispanic students, and two students of Native-American descent. The community is both rural and blue collar and located adjacent to a midsize city and a large university. Some newly built neighborhoods have attracted more professional and paraprofessional families. Of the five elementary schools in the district, this school is considered to have the highest number of "at-risk" students. Many students live in a neighboring trailer park and are living on low family incomes.

The 22 students in the class discussed in this report included one mainstreamed special education student, four older students who had repeated a grade, two students pulled out for speech therapy, and several students who had been on the Chapter 1 reading-resource teachers' load (however, only one was currently seeing the reading teacher at the time of this study). Although the students represented the usual range of academic abilities, Lindquist noted that this class had lower achievement test and IQ scores than previous classes. Racially, the class reflected the community composition: 17 Caucasian students, 1 African-American student, 3 Hispanic students, and 1 student of Native-American descent.

Heidi and Nan

We focused on learning more about Heidi and Nan's participation in our learning community for several reasons. The desks in the classroom were clustered in four-desk sets and students had their choice as to where they sat at the beginning of the year. Heidi and Nan sat in a four-desk cluster with Michelle and Tiffany. All four are Caucasian. Nan and Tiffany were resource-room students (for speech and reading, respectively), and Nan had serious reading and writing difficulties. Heidi and Michelle were stronger academically. Our field notes indicated that Heidi and

Michelle were friends at the beginning of the year and that Nan and Tiffany were not particularly close friends with anyone in the group. Both Heidi and Nan participated frequently in class, while Tiffany and Michelle did not contribute often to whole-class discussions. Heidi seemed to be more accepted socially in the class, while the other three seemed either somewhat invisible (Michelle and Tiffany) or not well accepted (Nan).

The two days of group work in October discussed in this paper took place in this four-person group. It provided an opportunity to think about who collaborated with whom and the nature of the collaborative work in a group of students of differing social and academic status (Cazden, 1988; Cohen, 1986). As the year progressed, Nan and Heidi developed a friendship both in and out of school (that seemed to exclude Michelle). They also worked together frequently during writers' workshop. The March conversation discussed in this paper centered around their collaboration in writing a story. It was an opportunity to explore ways in which the girls' collaboration had changed, in both form and substance, since the beginning of the year.

The two examples also contrast in the kind of learning community in which they took place, the nature of the task, and the nature of the group work. The October group work was assigned by us as teachers early in the year when the learning community was just beginning to develop. Although the students could control and direct the interaction, teachers initiated the occasion for the interaction. The March collaboration took place later in the year and the students had choices over both the form and substance of their writing as well as whether to collaborate or not. We wanted to study the potential influence of these curriculum and learning community revisions on Heidi and Nan's participation.

Data Sources

Classroom lessons, group work and writing conferences conducted with the 47 students were documented with field notes, audiotapes, and videotapes across the year.[4] Whole-class lessons were audiotaped September through February. Whole-group lessons were both audiotaped and videotaped March through May. During individual work time, one audio recorder was placed at different four-desk clusters to capture verbal interaction. I carried a tape recorder with me whenever I worked individually with students. Large-group and small-group sharing sessions were either audiotaped or videotaped. All 47 students' written work (e.g., journals, writing projects, and written reflections on their own writing progress) was collected.

Seventeen target students were chosen near the end of the year for more intensive study (six females and three males from one class; three females and five males from the other). Since Heidi and Nan were not included in this group, they were not interviewed individually at the end of the year. However, they did participate in a small-group interview (that included five students) at the end of the year. Some students were also interviewed informally as part of ongoing instruction throughout the year to learn more about how they made sense of the literacy learning experiences, their own perceptions of the writing process, and how they perceived these experiences to be related (or not related) to learning experiences in science and social studies. These informal interviews were audiotaped. Lindquist and I audiotaped our planning sessions across the year and saved all written documents associated with planning (e.g., planning notes, schedules, calendars, and resource lists).

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[4]During January and February, documentation activities in Nan and Heidi's class were halted temporarily because Lindquist's student teacher needed to take primary responsibility for teaching in the writers' workshop. Students' written work from January and February was saved.

Data Analysis

Understanding the learning community. Adapting Erickson's model for studying taught cognitive learning (see Erickson, 1982b; Rosaen, 1987), data analysis in the larger study was aimed at understanding three main aspects of teaching and learning: (a) the intended curriculum throughout the year; (b) the enacted curriculum, including the subject matter content and the development of social context for learning (the learning community) over time; and (c) individual meaning constructed by students within writers' workshop.[5]

Using planning records, audiotapes, and field notes, Lindquist and I constructed a chronological summary of our intended curriculum across the year, divided the year into seven instructional units, and summarized daily lessons within each unit. The units were chunked into three phases that characterized our intentions for student learning: (a) Laying Groundwork (Units 1-3, September-November); Initiation (Units 4 and 5, November-February); and (c) Delving More Deeply into Authorship (Units 6 and 7, February-May). Three curriculum strands guided our planning and teaching across the year: (a) creating and supporting the learning community, (b) developing writing knowledge and skills, and (c) developing literary understanding and appreciation. For each curriculum unit, we identified which curriculum strand (or strands) was (or were) more or less prominent. This curriculum overview was used as a tool in tracing students' development over time, as a way to compare the intended and experienced curriculum, and as a way to locate in real time what was occurring in the learning community when insights about a particular learner's growth or progress were investigated.

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[5] We have described our approach to analysis of target students' development as writers elsewhere (see Rosaen & Lindquist, 1992, and Rosaen, Lindquist, Peasley, & Hazelwood, 1992). This discussion is limited to those aspects of our analysis that were used to understand the intended and enacted curriculum as experienced by Heidi and Nan (who were not target students) in relation to their notions and actions regarding collaboration.

Hazelwood used field notes to construct detailed notes regarding the development of the learning community across the year, paying attention to the nature of language used by teachers and students, the overall atmosphere in the classroom, and the nature and level of participation. These notes were used to characterize broadly the underlying learning activity structure (Erickson, 1982b) as it was enacted within and across the various units. To understand the underlying organization of the academic world students encounter (the subject matter activity structure), the ways subject matter was organized and the organization and sequencing of activities were considered. To understand the students' social world, the status sets and roles students and teachers played in relation to the set of operating principles by which participants conducted their social interaction were considered (the underlying task structure).

From this analysis Hazelwood uncovered broad images that characterized the learning community at different points in time. She noted changes in the tasks in which learners were engaged, the use of language, and participants' relationships and actions. Broad understandings of the underlying task structure were inferred from what was physically present as activities occurred or from what happened as activities were enacted (Erickson, 1982b). It was against this backdrop that I analyzed two of Heidi and Nan's experiences in our learning community and tried to understand changes in their collaborative goals, roles and actions over time.

Understanding Heidi and Nan's experience in the learning community. Communication is an important avenue for understanding the social and academic sides of learning as well as the private and public aspects of interaction (Barnes, 1976; Cazden, 1986). In developing the analysis of Nan's and Heidi's October and March conversations, I took several things into consideration. Although the learner makes sense individually, she does so in a social context and that context also influences what and how she learns (Erickson, 1982a and 1982b). To display

knowledge successfully in schools, the learner must integrate interactional form (what are the appropriate social rules for speaking in a particular context) with academic content (display of academic skills or knowledge) (Cazden, 1988; Florio, 1978; Mehan, 1980; Merritt, 1982; Wallet & Green, 1979; Wilkinson & Dolloghan, 1979; Wilkinson & Calculator, 1982). A further demand on learners in schools is that teachers and students use a "system of relations" to make sense of each other and to establish a working consensus. It sometimes takes more effort and concentration to establish and maintain this relationship than the effort and concentration that is devoted to completing learning activities (McDermott, 1977). Whether this system of relations is implicit or made explicit in a classroom, "ways of being" become part of the "social content" to be learned in classrooms. An important theme in these ideas about how learners make sense of classroom life is the interconnection between their social and academic worlds. The individual sense making that goes on in a learning situation arises out of a social context that contributes to the meaning learners construct, and so on across the year.

Classrooms are social contexts which can also be viewed as speech communities. Within such communities, *events* take place and these are separated by *boundaries* which might be marked, for example, by differences in student and teacher configurations in the classroom (Mehan, 1982). Events can be segmented into *phases* of various types (e.g., reading, circle time, whole group lesson) (see Bremme & Erickson, 1977; Florio, 1978). Finally, each phase is segmented into *interactional sequences* (Mehan, 1978; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Heidi's and Nan's October and March collaboration took place during the "work time" phase of writing class, a time when students were expected to carry out their assigned tasks. Table 1 summarizes the areas I included in the analysis of the October and March conversations to uncover how Nan and Heidi experienced collaboration both socially

and academically. I viewed these areas as closely connected and overlapping; they are separated on the table only for the purposes of discussion.

As Table 1 shows, I analyzed social and academic aspects of talk in relation to *processes*. Following the work of others who have studied interaction in constituent phases (e.g., Cazden, 1988; Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Mehan, 1978, 1982; Schultz, Florio, & Erickson, 1982), I focused on how interactional sequences were achieved (e.g., turn-allocation procedure; getting and holding the floor; understanding what people were doing, where, and when) and the underlying participation structures that governed their achievement (who could say what, when, and to whom). As I focused on these social aspects of the conversations, I attended to how the interactional sequences were connected to accomplishing the academic task at hand as well as how the interactional sequences achieved the communication; that is, I considered what the status and roles of each group member were in relation to the collaborative task as defined by the participants and how they were negotiated throughout the conversation.

I was equally interested in examining the *content* of the October and March conversations (see Table 1) as a way of learning more about Heidi's and Nan's notions and actions regarding collaboration (social content) and how they constructed subject matter during their collaboration (academic content). Like other researchers interested in studying the content of the talk in relation to the interaction among the participants (e.g., Barnes, 1976; Freedman, 1987; McCarthey, 1989 and 1990; Sperling, 1990), I attempted to capture how Heidi and Nan each participated in structuring and achieving the conversation as they addressed the topics at hand. Following methodology developed by Erickson & Schultz (1981), I segmented the conversations by identifying junctures--places where the interactional texture is discontinuous with those preceding and following them--to

Table 1

Analysis of Social and Academic Talk

Social Aspects of Talk		Academic Aspects of Talk	
content	**process**	**content**	**process**
What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the social relations and how are they achieved?	What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the content and how is the content of the talk constructed?
a. What is the consensus or working agreement? * situation or task definition * goals b. How will the task be carried out? * roles * rights * responsibilities c. What is the nature of the relations among people (feelings, beliefs)? * trust * respect * caring * sense of positive interdependence	a. How are agreements acted upon? * strategies * turn-taking * gaining and maintaining conversational floor * roles enacted * rights and power exercised * responsibilities carried out b. How are personal qualities enacted? * commitment to task * commitment to learning * involvement * valuing of process and/or product	a. What topics are discussed related to writing, language arts? * knowledge * skills * strategies b. What types of knowledge are included? * personal * social * academic	a. What is the nature of the talk? * exploratory * final draft b. What or who are the sources of expertise? * students * teachers * text * other c. What ways of knowing are evident in the talk? * rational * aesthetic * narrative

construct a model of interaction structure.[6] The descriptive labels assigned to each segment were intended to capture both the process and content of the conversations and describe both the social and academic aspects of classroom life.

I followed work done by Barnes (1976), who studied the content of talk in small groups, to analyze what was talked about in each segment. I compared and contrasted the content of each segment with those that preceded and followed it. This included paying attention to at least two kinds of content: academic and social. Academic content included what was talked about in relation to writing (e.g., topic ideas, development of story content, strategies for writing). I also looked for how open-ended the talk was and the extent to which students attempted to explore or extend ideas compared to closing down or narrowing their focus (Barnes, 1976).

I also paid attention to topics related to social content: collaboration, the working consensus, how the group proceeded, and individuals' rights and responsibilities in the group. I initially conceptualized collaboration as having three important and interrelated components. First, collaborators have a *shared definition of the situation* and are aware of their shared definition. Therefore, the learners make sense of the task in the same way (Vygotsky, 1962; Wertsch, 1984). Second, collaborators have *similar or shared goals* so that their efforts can complement each other and head toward joint purposes (Hill & Hill, 1990). Third, collaborators have *feelings of positive interdependence* such that they believe that they can only succeed if they work together (Hill & Hill, 1990). I also looked for additional or differing ideas about collaboration that arose out of the girls' interactions.

I summarized my analysis of the October and March conversations and looked for patterns and discrepant events in academic and social participation (Erickson,

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[6]Since I was working with audiotape, I only had the benefit of changes in voice pitch, expression, pauses, and so forth and did not have the benefit of physical changes in posture and gaze to inform my analysis.

1986). These findings were then considered in relation to what was learned about the learning community in general to get at the following questions: In what ways did the learning community shape Heidi's and Nan's collaborative experiences during October and March? To what extent might differences in the learning community in October and March account for differences in their collaborative experiences during each time period?

Creating Our Learning Community

In this section I give an overview of our intended and enacted yearlong curriculum and describe the image of the kind of learning community we hoped would evolve across the year. I also characterize broadly the underlying learning activity structure (Erickson, 1982b) as it was enacted within and across the various units. This discussion provides a context for understanding Nan's and Heidi's participation in October and March and for asking questions regarding how the learning community may have influenced their participation.

Three Curriculum Strands

As we talked about our goals for a writers' workshop and the kind of learning we hoped would take place, it soon became apparent that we conceived of our curriculum broadly to include more than a narrow definition of the teaching of writing. It also became apparent that there were different areas we wanted to pay attention to and that these areas were interconnected in important ways. We referred to these areas as curriculum strands and thought of them as woven throughout our unit planning and teaching. Figure 1 shows the three curriculum strands and their interrelationship:

Strand 1: Developing and participating in the learning community

Strand 2: Understanding and using the writing process to become better writers

Strand 3: Developing literary understanding and appreciation

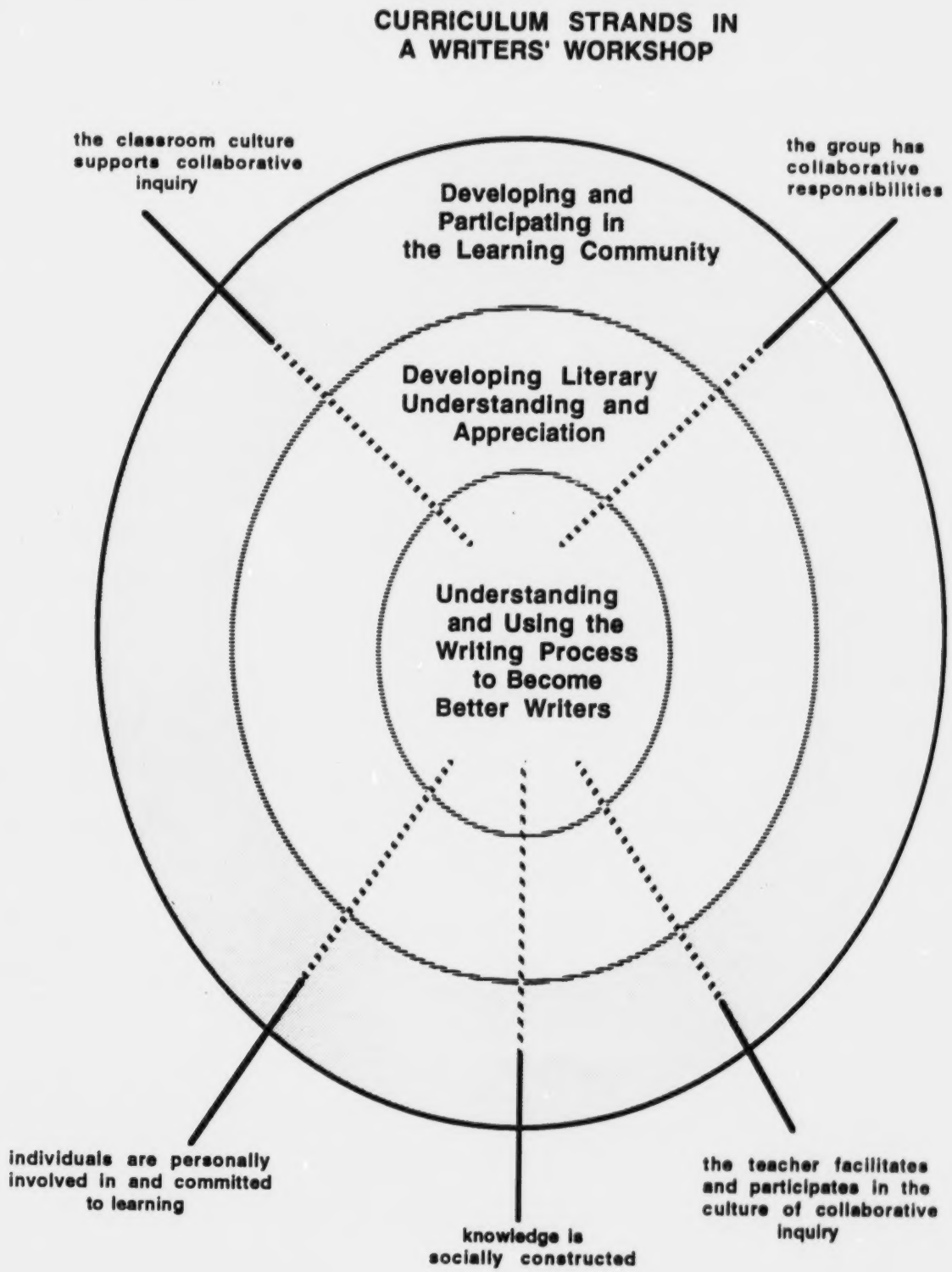
CURRICULUM STRANDS IN
A WRITERS' WORKSHOP
the classroom culture supports collaborative inquiry
the group has collaborative responsibilities
Developing and Participating in the Learning Community
Developing Literary Understanding and Appreciation
Understanding and Using the Writing Process to Become Better Writers
individuals are personally involved in and committed to learning
knowledge is socially constructed
the teacher facilitates and participates in the culture of collaborative inquiry

Figure 1. Curriculum strands in a writers' workshop.

These strands are represented as nested circles to illustrate how goals within one area are connected to goals within other areas. The writing strand is at the core and draws from both the literary and learning community strands. The dotted lines represent ways in which learning community qualities bring all three areas together through experiences students have in the classroom.

Strands 2 and 3: Subject Matter Goals for Writing and Literature

Our goals for helping our students understand and use the writing process to become better writers (Strand 2) were interrelated with goals for helping them develop literary understanding and appreciation (Strand 3). For example, we believed that a rich environment where literature is used as models for quality writing and where we reflected with our students about how our response to literature was related to the authors' craft was one way of helping our students understand how to become better writers (Atwell, 1987; Calkins, 1991; Cox & Many, 1992; Ralson, 1991; Walmsley, 1992). Moreover, we wanted to provide experiences where students could be supported in participating in the entire writing cycle (prewriting, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing) and trying out interactions associated with different aspects of the cycle (brainstorming, conferencing, sharing). We also had some specific descriptive writing techniques in mind that we wanted students to practice and experiment with (e.g., use of five senses, exaggeration, detail). As we planned our units and sought ways to support students' development in these areas, the importance of the social context, the learning community, emerged.

Strand 1: The Learning Community

Our studies during the previous year (e.g., Calkins, 1986; Canterford, 1991; Hill & Hill, 1990; Graves, 1983; Shannon, 1989) and our own teaching experience convinced us that a writers' workshop requires a different kind of learning community than a traditional approach to teaching writing. Hermine Marshall's

distinction (1990) between viewing the classroom as a workplace compared to a learning place was helpful to us in defining the *emphasis* we value in our teaching. As the year progressed we used this distinction to develop our own ideas regarding subject matter knowledge, skills, dispositions, teacher and student roles, the nature of learning experiences, and what would represent "learning."[7] For example, in traditional classrooms, getting work done is emphasized over what is actually learned from getting the work done, and subject matter is neatly packaged and defined and ready to be delivered to students.

In a learning setting, knowledge is constructed socially and developed by people. This means that evidence, not authority, is used to construct new knowledge and judge the merits of ideas. Each person is placed in the position of sharing expertise rather than limiting expertise to knowledge found in texts or in the teacher's head. Additionally, thinking, questioning, discussing, learning from mistakes, trying new ideas, and so forth, are valued and rewarded as much as completing finished products.

Students not only focus on learning particular subject matter concepts but also on knowing how and why certain concepts and ideas are connected and useful. Understanding what it means to be a writer is part of the subject matter "content" in a learning place. Moreover, taking risks, challenging ideas, listening, collaborating, appreciating diversity, responding to and respecting others' ideas are important social behaviors in the learning place since they are necessary parts of constructing knowledge. Learners have shared understandings of goals for learning tasks and feel that each person's contributions are necessary and worthwhile. Our image of

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[7]This metaphor was elaborated in various versions with all LISSS Project participants within and across the teaching of science, social studies, and writing. It has been an important communication tool for us to think about how our teaching in the three different subject matter areas is similar and different. The elaboration of the learning community qualities discussed in this paper grew out of these early versions.

the learner in the learning place is someone who feels a sense of ownership and commitment to his/her own learning and has the disposition to inquire and ask why.

We did not have this image developed fully and clearly at the start of the school year, for this was a year of improvisation (Power, 1990) as we cautiously proceeded in exploring new territories--transforming our curriculum and learning community. Rather, our ideas were elaborated and revised as our learning community evolved and as we discussed our teaching and research with LISSS Project participants. Figure 1 shows five broad qualities that require attention and nurturing in a developing learning community; the dotted lines represent how these five areas cut across all three curriculum strands:

1. The classroom culture supports collaborative inquiry
2. The group has collaborative responsibilities
3. Individuals are personally involved in and committed to learning
4. The teacher facilitates and participates in the culture of collaborative inquiry
5. Knowledge is socially constructed

Table 2 also includes these five categories and provides a summary of the particular qualities we hoped would evolve in us, in our learners, and in our learning environment across the year.

Three Curriculum Phases

When Lindquist and I revisited our yearlong curriculum it became apparent that there were some natural segments to how our intended curriculum unfolded. We call these segments "phases" to reflect different purposes in our curriculum: Laying Groundwork (Units 1-3), Initiation (Units 4-5), and Delving More Deeply Into Authorship (Units 6-7). With Hazelwood's assistance, we also came to appreciate ways in which our learning community shifted in emphasis from that of a workplace

where students collaborated to get tasks done to that of a learning place where students collaborated to learn.

Laying Groundwork

Our previous teaching experience told us that the first few months of any school year can be critical in setting the tone in the classroom, establishing routines and norms, and providing a foundation for working relationships. We clustered our first three units into this phase because they served those functions as well as laid the groundwork for further subject matter learning. During these units we supported students as they participated in the entire writing cycle (prewriting, drafting, revising, editing, and publishing) and as they practiced interactions associated with different aspects of the cycle (e.g., brainstorming, conferencing, sharing). We supported them in learning to collaborate and to get to know each other as people, writers and learners. We also introduced them to descriptive writing and revising techniques so they could practice the craft of writing. Table 3 summarizes the relative emphasis of each curriculum strand during this phase. The October conversations that I will discuss in the second half of this report took place during Unit 2: Animalia, when we were emphasizing the learning community strand and attempting to get students to reflect on the role of collaboration in their learning.

During these early months, the classroom fit more closely Marshall's (1990) metaphor of a work setting, where students seemed to interpret writing as assignments to complete and jobs to be completed. Writing tasks were defined by the teachers. Classroom talk during this time period was dominated by the language of getting things done to meet deadlines imposed by the teachers. Collaboration in completing tasks was assigned collaboration and it typically entailed division of labor and negotiation of roles and responsibilities but little shared understanding of overall goals or a sense of positive interdependence among group members.

Table 2

Learning Community Qualities

The classroom culture supports collaborative inquiry	**The group has collaborative responsibilities**
*celebration of learning *celebration and appreciation of diversity *caring *trust *respect *helping and being helped *positive interdependence *inquiry *a relation of persons, not just of roles or ranks	*collaboration on joint problems and questions of mutual interest *shared goals *shared responsibility for learning of all *shared responsibility for curriculum construction
Individuals are personally involved in and committed to learning	**The teacher facilitates and participates in the culture of collaborative inquiry**
*personally meaningful learning as a goal *personal and active involvement in meaningful and authentic problems (talk, write, do, inquire) *ownership, commitment to learning for self and others *desire to go on learning *value both process and products in learning	*pursues genuine, meaningful and authentic problems with students *fosters collaborative classroom culture *shares control over curriculum with students *has commitment to access to knowledge for all students *values and hears all student voices *participates in learning community as co-constructor (not dispenser) of knowledge *reflects carefully and regularly about curriculum development and student learning *encourages and supports development of personal qualities in each learner
Knowledge is socially constructed	
*knowledge is personal, social, and academic *strategic awareness and use of skills *inquiry, asking questions *expertise comes from multiple sources, including students' personal histories *use of evidence, shared expertise as authority for knowing *rational, narrative, and aesthetic ways of knowing are all valid and ways to integrate different ways of knowing are sought *multiple connections within and across subject matter areas are explored *valuing and respect for others' ideas are key aspects of knowledge construction *public exploration, sharing, and revision of ideas *all voices are important and heard	

Table 3

Phase I: Laying Groundwork

	Strand 1: The Learning Community	**Strand 2: The Writing Process**	**Strand 3: Literary Understanding and Appreciation**
Unit 1: All About Me Sept. 4-24	Background: relationship building: trust, respect; modeling how students could help each other with writing and how to collaborate; learning is celebrated	**Foreground:** overview of the writing process (one complete cycle) revising techniques: leads, word choice, use of details, focus parents' night as occasion to publish	
Unit 2: Animalia Sept. 25-Oct. 8	**Foreground:** collaboration through cooperative groups; public sharing and revision of ideas; ownership, commitment, shared responsibility, learning is celebrated	Background: writing process embedded in way the task was structured: brainstorm ideas, use of details, sense-making	Background: Identify why *Animalia* is appealing and interesting; use of quality literature as model
Unit 3: Descriptive Writing Oct. 9-Nov. 11	Background: use of evidence and developing shared expertise about what makes good description; public sharing and revision of ideas; learning is celebrated; ownership, commitment, shared responsibility	**Foreground:** practicing the writer's craft: revision techniques to create better description through use of 5 senses and exaggeration; revise before you write	Background: use of literature as models; revision of published literature

We had intended for students to develop a sense of ownership of and commitment to their own writing and we did see them become enthusiastic about the products they were creating. Yet we had apparently not structured tasks in ways that encouraged a culture of collaboration that included shared goals and a sense of positive interdependence. While our students were showing progress in their writing development and a basic understanding of the writing process (Strand 2), our learning community still did not fit the image we had in mind (Strand 1).

Initiation

During our fourth and fifth units we attempted to share control over the curriculum more democratically with our students (Shannon, 1989). We were all initiated into a new set of routines that we hoped would more closely match the kinds of collaborative experiences in which we wanted our students to engage. Instead of assigning writing projects, our new routines enabled students to make their own choices about the topics, forms, deadlines, and level of collaboration for their writing. We implemented routines such as journal writing, authors' day, and literature-sharing day to encourage students to collaborate on an ongoing basis as *they* felt the need or desire. We shifted our teaching activities from directing the structure of our entire writing time (e.g., deciding when students would discuss, write, collaborate, and so on) to providing brief mini-lessons on poetry to introduce ideas for writing topics and forms. Our intention was that students would *choose* to take advantage of these ideas (or not). We shifted the emphasis in writing conferences from making the rounds to make sure everyone was keeping up with the assigned task (while also discussing the content of drafts as needed) to helping students realize their own intentions as writers.

As shown in Table 4, the learning community strand was emphasized along with the writing strand in our curriculum to help students experience and understand the role collaboration could play in their learning to write. We wanted

the routines to become meaningful sources of collaboration, not mere procedures to get through. As the workshop progressed and students became more familiar with routines, we shifted to a greater emphasis on Strand 3 (during Unit 5).

During this phase the students were still expected to write every day but the use of language in the classroom and students' working relationships began to shift. More often, there were conversations about the content of pieces (such as use of descriptive detail or the author's purpose) rather than about logistics (such as getting a piece finished), and the conversations were more spontaneous rather than being assigned. Yet students persisted in valuing the teachers' judgments about the quality of the piece instead of seeing their peers as audiences for their writing. When students worked together there was less emphasis on bargaining and negotiation over who would complete which tasks and more emphasis on composing. Still, the students' use of the new routines such as authors' day and literature-share day maintained the flavor of a work setting (they seemed more like show and tell than sharing and celebrating) and had a long way to go before they would embody a community of writers who were helping and being helped and where everyone's ideas were heard and valued.

Delving More Deeply Into Authorship

During our final phase of the curriculum, we focused on deepening and enriching our students' and our own understanding of what it means to be an author--what authors do, think about, and value as part of their work. During the authors' design unit, we tried to provide occasions for mutual study of how authors might approach constructing a piece and what they take into consideration (e.g., relationships among topic, purpose or message, audience, and form). During the authors' exploration unit, we studied ways in which different types of literature (e.g., mystery, fantasy, subject matter trade books, and biography) can provide ideas and models for good writing and where authors get ideas for writing topics and forms.

Table 4

Phase II: Initiation

	Strand 1: The Learning Community	**Strand 2: The Writing Process**	**Strand 3: Literary Understanding and Appreciation**
Unit 4: Establishing a Writers' Workshop Nov. 8-Dec. 19	**Foreground:** how to work together as a community of writers; use patterns established to support and develop capacity to help each other (see Strand 2); personally meaningful learning as a goal	**Foreground:** responding to each other's writing: receiving a piece, authors' day, getting topic ideas; visit from author; Christmas walk-through	Background: literature share day as routine; share literature on winter topics as source of ideas and models
Unit 5: Poetry in Writers' Workshop Jan. 7-Feb. 7	Background: use authors' day and literature share day as pattern to encourage celebration and sharing; "I wish" group poem; personally meaningful learning as a goal	Background: use writing process to create poetry or other forms of writing; students have choice of topic and form	**Foreground:** learn about aspects of poetry: simile, personification, line breaks, color poems, "I wish" poems, poetic license use published pieces as models

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Table 5

Phase III: Delving More Deeply Into Authorship

	Strand 1: The Learning Community	**Strand 2: The Writing Process**	**Strand 3: Literary Understanding and Appreciation**
Unit 6: Authors' Design Feb. 13-March 21	Background: inquiry, asking questions, public sharing of ideas, use of evidence and shared expertise, valuing and respecting others' ideas, personally meaningful learning as a goal	Background: use authors' design as a framework for own writing	**Foreground:** understanding relationship among aspects of authors' design: author's topic and purpose, topic knowledge, choice of form, audience, audience response
Transition Period March 25-April 18	Background: continue writers' workshop as schedule permits (testing, vacation interruptions) sharing of student writing and published literature	**Foreground:** select piece to put in middle school folder and write a paragraph about self	Background: create "wish list" of books to order for library (also served as information on student interests for next unit)
Unit 7: Authors' Exploration April 22-May 16	Background: collaborate with others to explore different book sets and develop focus question	Background: study authors' biographies and book sets to get ideas for topics and forms; study own "All About Me" piece from viewpoint of memoir; develop focus question for finding out more about fiction, biography, or subject matter	**Foreground:** use biographical materials and book sets to explore: Where do authors get ideas? What do authors do to improve their writing? Explore book sets: fiction, biography, subject matter sets

We developed this unit to be more responsive to our students' interests and their growing independence as writers, while at the same time attending to what we believed to be our responsibility to help students continue to grow as writers.

Throughout these two units students still continued to work on their own pieces, either collaboratively or on their own. The March conversation to be discussed in the second half of this report took place during the authors' design unit. Table 5 shows that Strands 2 and 3 received greater emphasis at this time. Our learning community was "off and running" and did not seem to require as much attention by this time of the year:

By this phase of the school year, the classroom began to look more like what Marshall (1990) calls a learning setting where sense making, ownership and collaboration are central to what goes on in the classroom. Writing tasks were defined by the students. We joined our students in inquiring into meaningful questions rather than providing inquiry for them to which we already knew the answers. Classroom talk during this portion of the year focused less on completing tasks and more on the content and processes of students' writing. Collaboration more often centered around shared goals and positive interdependence among participants, with less visible negotiation regarding students' rights and responsibilities. Perhaps by this time rights and responsibilities were already understood in various relationships.

Despite these changes, we were still concerned about the extent to which students were connecting the purposes of collaboration to actually improving the quality of their writing. We had no doubt that the students were enjoying writing and were getting better at articulating and realizing shared goals. We wanted to know more about how their collaboration as writers (Strand 1) linked to their development as readers and writers (Strands 2 and 3). These questions led to a closer study of Nan's and Heidi's collaboration during Phases I and III.

Nan and Heidi's Participation in the Learning Community

In this section I describe Nan and Heidi's participation in the learning community during two different phases of our curriculum. The first example took place on two days in early October during Phase I when we were attempting to provide support for our students' participation in our newly evolving learning community. The second example took place in early March during writing time in writers' workshop. These examples illustrate ways in which the two girls revised their goals, roles, and actions as collaborators in our writers' workshop over time. In the contexts of these specific examples, I also raise questions about the ways in which our curriculum, the broader learning community, and teacher and student roles and responsibilities in each instance may have influenced the students' academic and social participation.

Collaboration as Voting and Bargaining

After supporting students in completing one full cycle of writing in our All About Me unit, we decided to support them more explicitly in learning to collaborate in their writing. To that end, students were assigned to create a group product, an alphabet page patterned after pages in Graeme Base's (1986) colorful and detailed book Animalia. As in Base's book, students were to select one animal that would be the focus of their page, write a sentence in which most of the words began with the same letter of the alphabet as the animal, and illustrate the page with details that also began with that same letter. After exploring Animalia and studying together ways in which the author's ideas were elaborated, we asked our students to work in groups to create their own page. During our 45-minute writing time each day we suggested particular tasks that students might engage in such as brainstorming lists of potential animals, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, thinking of ways to illustrate the main sentence, and thinking of potential details that would augment the main sentence.

October 1 Group Work

By the fourth day of the unit students had begun to make their choices for their main idea and had time on the fourth, fifth, and sixth days to compose and publish their alphabet page. On the fourth day we suggested that students work on developing their main idea by finding verbs that would fit with the animal they had chosen. I analyzed the talk during work time of one group which included Heidi (H), Nan (N), Michelle (M), and Tiffany (T), focusing on the content and processes of their academic and social participation (see Table 1). I found that a great deal of their concentration and effort was devoted to their social participation, which included learning to collaborate. This left less attention available for focusing on composing the alphabet page (which was our intended academic focus). It also seemed to isolate their collaborative efforts from the academic task in that they focused more on voting and bargaining to get the task done and less on sharing and exploring ideas as authors.

As shown in Table 6, their conversation broke naturally into three segments and I used these segments to organize my analysis. I labeled the three segments as follows: choosing a word, developing ideas, and underground collaboration. As the conversation opened, the group's shared definition of the task was to decide on an animal and they seemed to agree that the appropriate procedure for accomplishing that task was to vote. As shown in the excerpt below, the standard for deciding seemed to be personal preference:

Michelle:	OK, do you want penguins, snow leopards, dolphins . . .
Heidi:	Who wants penguins here? Raise your hand.
Nan:	I don't want the same letter.
Heidi:	Raise your hand if you want penguins. Raise your hand if you want flamingos. Snow leopards.
Nan:	(inaudible)

Heidi: Raise your hand if you want dolphins.

Nan: I'll have a dolphin. Why didn't you guys raise your hand on any of them? You don't want none of them? Michelle, what one do you really want? One of them two? Let's just do one of them, the penguins or the flamingos.

Michelle: I don't want neither of those. Nobody likes my ideas.

Tiffany: What's your idea?

Nan: Don't argue when this thing [tape recorder] is on.

Heidi: Why don't we just stick with what we got? I don't care, let's just stick with what we got.

Michelle: No, that was stupid.

Nan: Let's do snow leopard or dolphin or flamingo, or penguin. We got to figure one out.

Michelle: I want to be flamingo.

Nan: You want the flamingo?

Heidi: I want the dolphins.

Nan: Flamingo. OK, but it's still flamingo. Who's gonna keep the cards on their desk this time?

Michelle: Forcing.

Nan: OK, but, what?

Michelle: Forcing.

Heidi: Is that a verb?

Nan: No, they have to be doing something.

Michelle: They are, they're forcing (inaudible) to do something. Flamingos forcing (inaudible).

Nan: It has to start with a p--oh, an f, flamingos.

Michelle: Let's do something different--these are hard (inaudible).

When Lindquist stopped by to ask the group about their progress, their explanation also showed that getting the task completed overrode other considerations for making their decision, and that each person's participation through voting was what counted:

Table 6

Summary of Analysis of Talk During October 1 Group Work

Social Aspects of Talk		Academic Aspects of Talk	
What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the social relations and how are they achieved?	What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the content and how is the content of the talk achieved?
Segment I: Choosing a Word			
*working consensus: decide on animal *jobs: who will keep cards? *whether all people's ideas are accepted	*roles & turns: T: invisible listener (3 turns) M: challenger, contributor (13 turns) H: leader, decision maker (18 turns) N: mediator and leader (25 turns) L: mediator (4 turns) *voting and arguing for own idea	*which animal to decide on *which animals are easy to find verbs for *deciding if words are verbs	*choosing animal from previous ideas *further exploration is initiated by students and teacher *teacher and students are experts *ideas come from 3 out of 4 group members *group decides to stick with what they had

Table 6 (Cont.)

Segment II: Developing Ideas			
*working consensus: brainstorm and decide if words are verbs *N's goal: try to get a lot of words *M says T is not participating and T responds that if one person doesn't want an idea it is not used	*roles & turns: T: invisible listener (5 turns) M: contributor, challenger (24 turns) H: contributor (16 turns) N: leader, mediator, authority (32 turns) L: audience (1 turn) *M uses role as writer for the group to keep T's one contribution in the conversation *When M confronts T about her participation, H & N ignore and keep on working on task	* which words are verbs *which ideas are funny *spelling	*N is authority for deciding when a word is a verb *brainstorming is main activity and H makes most suggestions *each new idea gets others to contribute more *M repeats T's idea and keeps it in the conversation
Segment III: Underground Collaboration			
*working consensus: share ideas with class during class discussion *N takes job of reader (and H informally assists)	*roles & turns: T: listener (0 turns) M: listener (0 turns) H: helper (5 turns) N: reader (14 turns) L: mediator (11 turns) *N volunteers the group to share *N says "we're done" as soon as she is done reading *H whispers words to N as she reads	*N suggests new combination after classmate responds: dolphin driving	*N explores new combination: dolphin driving

Lindquist: How are you guys doing?

Nan: We can't figure out another animal 'cause Heidi wasn't here to help us . . .

Heidi: I don't care about it.

Nan: . . . decide.

Heidi: I don't care about it.

Lindquist: I thought you had an animal.

Nan: We had an animal, but they, it was a, um, a peacock. And then we wanted to choose a different one 'cause Heidi didn't get a chance to vote on what animal we got last time. And we came up with flamingo, but Michelle said that it's hard to think of words with an f.

Heidi: Why don't we just stick with what we have?

Nan: Fine. Let's just stick with what we had.

Heidi: Shall we stick with what we had?

When Lindquist suggested that the students might brainstorm some additional animal and verb combinations and then choose, the group began to explore other ideas, however, they kept the goal of completing the task prominently in their focus:

Lindquist: OK, you've already got one with peacocks. Why don't you pick another one and do another one and then you can decide.

Heidi: How about snow leopards? Snow leopard?

Nan: Dolphin.

Heidi: Dolphin?

Nan: Dancing. You can put dancing.

Michelle: Panda bears.

Nan: Panda bears. Dolphin dancing . . . differently.

Michelle: Koala.

Nan: What one do you want, Michelle? (inaudible) OK, but let's do, let's do, well not a kangaroo, a jack rabbit, no, donkey dancing . . .

Heidi: Red fox.

Nan: Red fox.

Heidi: No, that's too kind of (inaudible)

Michelle: Think of one that we could get verbs . . .

Nan: Donkey dancing. . . . We got to think of one before the time's up.

Heidi: We want to get this done soon. Panda bears.

Nan: Do you want to just stick with the one we had before? Flamingo?

Heidi: We have to find verbs for it. The only thing I can think of is . . .

Nan: The red fox read . . .

Michelle: Let's just do dolphin.

Nan: Dolphin, we're doing dolphin.

Heidi: OK, that's easy. Dolphin . . .

During the entire conversational segment Tiffany was almost totally invisible, taking only three turns to focus the group's attention on what Lindquist was saying. Even though Michelle ended up agreeing to stick with what they had, she did challenge the group early on to not just stick with what they had and tried to get them to consider using flamingo. She even tried to pursue finding verbs that fit with flamingo. Yet despite her claims that she did not care, Heidi took on the role of leader and decision maker (18 turns) while Nan shared the leadership by taking on a mediating role (25 turns). They did decide after all to stick with what they had.

During the second segment, developing ideas (see Table 6), the group moved on to brainstorming verbs that begin with d to fit with their choice of animal, dolphin. Nan participated the most (32 turns) and took on the leadership role in several ways. First, she displayed enthusiasm for the task when she said things like, "Let's try to get a lot of these things" and "This is neat. This is funny, things that they don't actually do. 'Cause dancing, a dolphin dancing, and a dolphin driving." Second, she became the authority for deciding whether or not a word is a verb. Third, she sought outside resources (the dictionary) to give the group additional ideas. Fourth, she played the

role of mediator by listening to and repeating most of the contributions. Her listening role paved the way for Heidi's role as contributor (16 turns). She brainstormed several contributions throughout the segment: dancing, drowning, drawing, determining, disgusting, discussing. Michelle participated in this segment more actively (24 turns) by contributing some ideas, writing down ideas for the group, encouraging Tiffany to participate, and eventually challenging her for not participating. Her encouragement did get Tiffany to contribute and she used her role as writer for the group to try to get the group to hear Tiffany's contribution:

Michelle: Tiffany, are you gonna pick anything here?

Tiffany: Dodging.

Michelle: Huh?

Tiffany: Dodging.

Michelle: Diving.

Nan: Diving.

Michelle: Diving into a pool of water.

Nan: Yeah.

Tiffany: Dodging.

Nan: This is neat. This is funny things that they don't actually do. 'Cause dancing, a dolphin dancing, and a dolphin driving. Just slow down a little 'cause Michelle hasn't got diving down yet.

Michelle: How do you spell dive?

Nan: Diving.

Michelle: Dodging.

Nan: Dodging, um,

Michelle: I don't know how to spell it.

When Tiffany offered no further contributions as the conversation proceeded, Michelle persisted in drawing her into the group's efforts. However, Heidi and Nan did not seem to share her concern, did not acknowledge Tiffany's lack of

participation as a problem, nor did they seem to listen to her idea. Instead, Heidi and Nan kept on working:

Michelle: Want to look in here for a word? You aren't participating. You aren't.

Tiffany: So.

Nan: Disappear, he disappeared.

Tiffany: What it is is if one of you guys don't want nothing then we don't use it like here (inaudible)

Nan: OK, um, we can't think of no other ones.

Michelle: Discussion, listen you guys, disturbing (inaudible). Listen you guys, discussion, is that OK?

Nan: Yeah, that's OK, it's doing something.

Michelle: Oh, here's dodge, d-o-g-g-e.

Nan: Who cares, we've got it good enough. Drooling, drooling (laughs), drooling (pause), drooling. Heidi, drooling, he's drooling water.

Heidi: Discuss or discussion.

Nan: He's dealing, he's dealing with a problem.

Heidi: What?

Nan: Drooling. Heidi, drooling. Like he's dashing, he's on drugs (laughs). He's dreaming.

This group's notion of collaboration at this time seemed to center around each person getting her ideas heard and used. Ideas were considered valid if they fit with the assigned task (Is it a verb?) and if they were personally appealing. Group members did not see each other as a potential audience for their alphabet page and did not seem interested in each others' responses to their ideas. They were interdependent only to the extent that they felt responsible that a group product would be created but did not seem to think input from all was crucial to creating their alphabet page, as evidenced by Tiffany's invisibility in the group. Even Michelle's attempts to coax her into the group may have been based more heavily on a feeling

of fairness (e.g., Is everyone carrying her load?) than on a belief that Tiffany's ideas were a valuable or necessary contribution.

I labeled the third segment "underground collaboration" (see Table 6) because it took place as the class was asked to share their contributions. As Lindquist drew the class together and began the sharing process, Nan continued to whisper potential words to Heidi, and then volunteered her group to be the first to share. As Nan took on the role of reader for the group, she experienced difficulty in reading and pronouncing the words. Heidi whispered each word to her from the list to help her complete the sharing task. Perhaps this was a beginning sign of a sense of positive interdependence, in that Heidi pooled their abilities to accomplish the group's purposes. When Lindquist and another student commented on the group's word choices and whether their verbs created vivid mental images, it seemed to inspire another idea for Nan, "Driving, a dolphin driving."

October 3 Group Work

The group's interactions on October 3 were again dominated by their negotiations and enactment of their social rights and obligations and these negotiations overshadowed the academic aspects of their talk. We suggested to the students that they work particularly hard on illustrating their main idea on that day, and Lindquist had also suggested that students divide responsibilities into particular jobs (e.g., main illustration, details, writer of sentence) so progress could be made in several areas at one time. The alphabet pages were due the following day. This group divided the responsibilities as follows: Heidi drew the main illustration, Michelle was responsible for writing the sentence, and Tiffany and Nan were responsible for finding and selecting details to be included. Figure 2 shows the group's alphabet page, which focuses on a dolphin, and contains the main idea, "A dolphin delightedly drawing a dog and daintily dancing."

As shown in Table 7, I divided the conversation during work time into five segments: composing as doing your job, defining and developing the alphabet page--a small challenge, a teachable moment, composing Heidi's picture--maybe, and the challenge. These segments were used to organize my analysis of the academic and social aspects of the group's talk (see Table 1).

Segment I, composing as doing your job (see Table 7), was heavily controlled by Heidi (17 turns) through her understanding of the task requirements (getting it done) and her responsibility for drawing the main idea. For example, when Michelle wanted to explore more books for ideas about what to include in their picture, Heidi used the next day's due date as a reason to continue on without further exploration and to use her own ideas for what should be included in the main illustration:

Heidi: Michelle, should we make it like this, or should we make it like this? [refers to whether rectangular page should be used tall or long way]. We're supposed to make it like this, OK. So what should I do, should I make it like, right over here, should I make a chair? Or what should I make him sitting on, a rock?

Michelle: I thought of something. You know how one of the books has the attic and stuff like that? Let's find d.

Heidi: Here's one, that's what it is.

Michelle: The doctor's office. That'd be neat!

Heidi: No. Dressed up. I was gonna make him put one of those artist's caps on and a mustache, like a Frenchman.

Michelle: I just want, I just want, let's look through this book . . .

Heidi: We've got to get this done by tomorrow. I'm gonna try to make a rock, a tall rock, and make him sitting on it with an artist's stand and he's painting a dog.

When other disputes arose, Heidi seemed to obtain her authority for making decisions on the basis of the group's working consensus that each person would do her own job. For example, Nan and Tiffany were responsible for the details that would be included in the alphabet page. When they argued for including a dog, Michelle did not seem to support their idea, but grudgingly acknowledged that the

Figure 2. Alphabet page.

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Table 7

Summary of Analysis of Talk During October 3 Group Work

Social Aspects of Talk		Academic Aspects of Talk	
What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the social relations and how are they achieved?	What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the content and how is the content of the talk achieved?
Segment I: Composing as Doing Your Job			
*working consensus: everyone has a job and this work should be finished by tomorrow *M acknowledges that N & T have right to choose picture: "Pick your stupid picture"	*roles & turns: T: helper, challenger, responsible for details (4 turns) M: helper, challenger, responsible for writing (15 turns) H: leader, controller, responsible for drawing (17 turns) N: helper, responsible for details (4 turns) *When M wants to explore more ideas, H asserts authority, through task definition--need to get it done *H controls content of picture through job as drawer	*H and M discuss content of picture, as H draws, and what certain pictures look like	*H declares that idea exploration is over because task needs to be finished * H & M consult on content of picture * H rejects T's and N's ideas and decides which pictures are OK *H dominates and controls what will be included based on personal choice

Table 7 (Cont.)

Segment II: Defining and Developing the Alphabet Page--A Small Challenge			
*working consensus: continuing to carry out jobs *H explains to Lindquist why they started over (proportion issue)	*roles & turns: T: helper (2 turns) M: helper (5 turns) H: leader, controller (5 turns) N: helper, challenger (10 turns) L: mediator (3 turns) R: audience (4 turns) *multiple conversational floors that are connected by jobs each person has *H has power over content of picture through M's and N's consultations about approval of ideas T & N continue working on details	*issue that causes group to start picture over again: proportion of one picture compared to another *computer use (for writing sentence for picture) *need for pictures (details)	* teacher uses *Animalia* book as source of authority for discussing proportion issue * H reinterprets and follows her own ideas about proportion * H is consulted often by M and N and therefore seems to have more power than others regarding what the content of the picture will be
Segment III: A Teachable Moment			
*Rosaen says she is there to help H spell words that convey her own meaning	*roles & turns: T: helper (0 turns) M: helper (0 turns) H: learner (2 turns) N: helper (0 turns) R: teacher (3 turns)	* spelling * meaning	*teacher is authority for spelling *student in control of own meaning

Table 7 (Cont.)

Segment IV: Composing Heidi's Picture--Maybe			
*working consensus: each person does her job *Lindquist refers to issue about proportion (segment II) and comments that it [the issue] is working out *N compares their product to others in class--feelings of competitiveness and pride *H reminds group that they will get task completed by tomorrow *N makes comments to T about H's dominance *H declares that they have enough details (N's and T's job)	*roles & turns: T: helper (6 turns) M: helper (at computer,2 turns) H: leader, controller (28 turns) N: helper, sharer (47 turns) L: teacher, audience (5 turns) R: teacher, audience (8 turns) *N consults with H about all decisions *N shares with teachers, Sarah *N refers to "we" in alliance with H when talking to M *N shares job of detail person with T and comments to T about H's dominance *N directs H to get paste (never directs about content of picture) but does direct T about where to place details *T takes credit for finding book with flamingo in it *N says "I" when talking to R, but when talking to H allows H to be in charge *N focuses H's attention on her own job when H tries to bring detail job to a close	*placement and inclusion of details on page *H asks what else is needed *sharing content of picture with teachers, Sarah	*N has sense of audience for picture *all ideas are filtered through H for approval *when H tries to say there are enough details, N does not allow her to make that decision *N uses teacher authority when she challenges H about detail decision *R tries to offer composing strategy as a means to make decisions about content of picture

Table 7 (Cont.)

Segment V: The Challenge			
*working consensus: complete jobs *N asserts general complaint that H shouldn't decide about details. *N uses job definition to define rights. *M: nobody likes my ideas *M to H: you're not the boss of me *T: nobody's listening to me	*roles & turns: T: helper, challenger (15 turns) M: helper, challenger (32 turns) H: leader (37 turns) N: helper, challenger (34 turns) L: teacher (1 turn) R: teacher, mediator (11 turns) *T asserts that her idea (fish) should be included *N aligns with T in decision *H defends her position on the basis of the task definition (needs to be a word beginning with d) *H wants to do some of M's writing job *M insists to H that she can follow through on her job as writer *In front of teacher, H asks group what they want to do *After group challenges H, M still seeks H's approval for ideas	*inclusion and arrangement of details *basis on which details should be included (do they begin with d?) *arrangement of sentence on the page	*job description used to assert authority for decisions *decisions about inclusion and placement seem to be made on basis of personal preference *H is still consulted even after group challenges her about making too many decisions *T does get to include fish in picture

decision should be up to Tiffany and Nan. Yet when the content of the completed picture was examined (see Figure 2), Heidi (through her role as main illustrator) still controlled the decision and included only half a dog:

Nan: We think we should have a whole dog.

Heidi: That doesn't look like a dog.

Nan: But, because . . .

Michelle: Let me see it . . .

Heidi: No, 'cause we just started painting.

Michelle: Just a minute.

Nan: OK.

Michelle: Just a minute.

Nan: OK, we have to have it, we're going over, we're doing it now

Heidi: OK, I'm gonna make this (inaudible)

Tiffany: The dog looks like it's dancing.

Heidi: It doesn't look like a dog.

Tiffany: Yeah, but looks more like it's dancing . . .

Heidi: No it doesn't.

Tiffany: It shows the head . . .

Heidi: No it doesn't.

Michelle: Do what you want. It's their choice. Pick your stupid picture.

Throughout the segment, Heidi did consult Michelle on some decisions, although she still maintained her role as leader and controller of the group, including deciding when Michelle would be able to work on her job as writer:

Heidi: Should I make him sittin' on a snail?

Michelle: Not a snail (pause), um (pause), a clam. (Inaudible) open their shells?

Heidi: Oh, and so I'll make it like this? I don't know how to make a clam.

Michelle: Just make a rock.

Tiffany? (from across the room): Come on, Michelle.

Michelle: (Returns) Are you making him sit on a rock?

Heidi: I'm gonna find a place for you to hide it. This is the water. They won't know it unless, should I make it right there, or no, just leave it alone? And make bubbles come up (inaudible).

Michelle: But we have to start the writing in, Heidi.

Heidi: I know, after they're done you can write the writing in any way you want.

Michelle: Oh I thought I was gonna do it (inaudible). No, I got a neat script for the computer.

The group proceeded by each working on her respective job. As Heidi continued to decide what would be included in the illustration to represent the main idea, she seemed to make the final decisions. Her decisions seemed to be based on some consultation with Michelle but ultimately on her own personal choice.

The next segment of conversation, defining and developing the alphabet page--a small challenge (see Table 7), occurred in response to a dispute that apparently originated away from the tape recorder in another part of the room. It began when Nan brought Lindquist to the group to discuss whether the various illustrations on the page have to be in proportion to one another. Lindquist used the Animalia book to show Heidi that the pictures do not need to be in proportion as they might in a regular drawing:

Nan: Mrs. Lindquist says it doesn't matter.

Lindquist: They don't have to, you're not doing, look at this book, Heidi. . .

Nan: I'm gonna cut one out.

Lindquist: Heidi, look at this book. Things do not have to, things are not in proportion in this book. Look at how big these are and how small some of these things are. Do you see what I'm saying? They don't have to be in proportion.

Heidi: I know, but the main part of the picture is smaller than what, what, it's not the main part.

In spite of Lindquist's appeals, Heidi decided to start over again, as she explained to me a few minutes later, "We had to start over because this one I can't use 'cause it's too small."

Other conversational floors (Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982) emerged during this segment as well. Nan and Tiffany continued to look for pictures of details and Tiffany acknowledged that they needed to wait until Heidi was finished with the main drawing before they added their details to the page, "We've got to wait 'til she's done drawing the main picture." I stopped by and responded to their alphabet page by commenting, "That's great . . . Oh, you want, that's going to be your main picture? And you want it to really stand out?" Nan pursued the idea of finding an appropriate illustration for the dog, checking her thinking out with Heidi, and Michelle consulted Heidi even though she was across the room working on the computer:

Nan: All right. We need a lady dancing, don't we? No, dogs dancing. Oh no, dogs dancing. I don't think we're gonna find that. I do not, Heidi, I don't . . .

Heidi: We're not gonna find a dog dancing.

Nan: Unless we find a closest one from a dog dancing. This is a Chinese book.

Michelle: (Calls from computer) Hey Heidi.

Heidi: What?

Michelle: Come here.

As the group members honored their working consensus that they would each do their own jobs, they granted Heidi greater authority by filtering the decisions, even about their own jobs, through her.

Segment III, a teachable moment (see Table 7), is a brief set of interchanges between Heidi and me about the spelling in the main sentence. I questioned the use of the word "delightly" and asked Heidi to tell me more about what she intended to say before correcting it to be "delightedly." After correcting it, I checked again to see if that is what Heidi intended, "OK, does that make sense to you now? I don't want to

change your meaning if you didn't mean that." No other group members entered into the meaning-making discussion here, once again granting Heidi authority for deciding.

Segment IV, composing Heidi's picture--maybe (see Table 7), contains the beginnings of overt rumblings of discontent with Heidi's leadership role and dominance in the composing process. As the segment began, Nan again either asked Heidi what she had decided or filtered ideas through Heidi, seeking her approval:

Nan: Where are we gonna put--Oh, forget about it right now. Where's his paint brush?

Heidi: It's gonna be outside the water. It has to be.

Nan: OK, he's on a stone in the water? And are you gonna make water? (pause) Is that the sand?

Heidi: And the we'll make him right there.

Nan: OK.

Heidi: All this is the sky out here. There and then (inaudible).

Nan. Painting (pause) he's painting a dog. The dolphin's painting the dog (laughs).

(working)

Nan: Heidi, (inaudible) a clam in the water. We need a clam in the water, all the way around the edges just about that height.

Heidi: Ok, we (inaudible).

Nan: I mean . . .

Heidi: That'd be perfect. Is there anything else in there that would look good in the water?

Nan: Um, a fish talking on the phone with glasses on . . .

Heidi: The glasses, just the glasses.

Nan: OK, Tiffany, come here. Michelle, wait 'til you see this. It is so funny. We're gonna cut out this one with glasses. And we're also gonna do the clam.

Tiffany: There's a few on there.

Nan: Mrs. Lindquist, I mean Ms., Dr. Rosaen, come here. We're gonna put this fish in it and he's wearing glasses but we're gonna cut off the part where he's talking on the phone. We're gonna put him in our picture talking on the phone.

When ideas had Heidi's approval, Nan merely reported to Michelle and Tiffany what had already been decided. There were a few areas, though, where Nan asserted some authority. She monitored how Tiffany was doing in finding details, and she did tell Heidi to get some glue, an area where Nan apparently thought Heidi did not hold as much authority:

Nan: Go get some glue, Heidi. I mean ask if we can use some paste of Michelle's because you know I don't like glue. It always spreads out all over the place. (inaudible)

Heidi: Paste always comes off. It doesn't stay on.

Tiffany: Is that (inaudible).

Heidi: We won't stick it on right there, we're gonna have to stick it on right there.

Tiffany: I can't find much back here.

Nan: I found a couple things in here. (inaudible)

Tiffany: There's a flamingo book.

Nan: Hey, we found a flamingo book.

Tiffany: I know I did, yeah.

Nan: If I cut this out real small, could you put that on there?

Heidi: I don't think we could fit it though.

Rosaen: Which part of it do you want?

Nan: I don't know, Heidi, would you want this?

When Nan tried to claim "we" found a flamingo book, Tiffany responded, "I know I did, yeah," as though Tiffany did not want to lose credit for her contribution and perhaps was not ready to enter into an alliance. Nan continued to build on this beginning alliance a little later in the conversation when she found a picture of a fish and consulted Tiffany instead of Heidi. When Heidi tried to bring closure to

Tiffany's and Nan's job by saying she thought they had enough details, Nan directed Heidi's attention back to her own job as main illustrator. She also began to question Heidi's role in making all the decisions:

Nan: Heidi. Look, Tiffany, Tiffany, Tiffany look, look.

Tiffany: Yeah, cut him out.

Nan: There's not enough room.

??: (Inaudible) we get the books on there with the plant?

Nan: No, it's not in there. We found these but these are (inaudible). Heidi, aren't you gonna paste them or glue them on?

Heidi: In a minute. I think we got a lot.

Nan: I want more though. Make like waves.

Rosaen: You've still got other things you could fill this with even though you've got your main thing.

Nan: We've got to make the . . .

Rosaen: So, sometimes it does work to collect other ideas and then you can decide when you're all ready to put them all together whether you want to include them all. Look at this page how every single spot in the whole thing is filled. And in this one too. Well you don't have to fill every single inch.

Heidi: Michelle, Michelle we found a paint brush (inaudible).

Nan: Heidi, come over here and finish this. Heidi, come on. Heidi.

Heidi: I don't have anything else to do.

Nan: Glue them on or color it. Color the sea thing. You know, we're doing better than anybody else from the other class. Do you see how sloppy they did it? Huh, Heidi?

Heidi: We'll get this done by tomorrow. (Inaudible) not done with the dog yet. (Inaudible) still drawing it. "Daintily dancing."

Nan: Oh, he still, he only got the hat done, the head done? Are you gonna color half of, some of it?

Heidi: Yes, I'm gonna color all of it that I got.

Nan: Yeah, I know, I'm just saying definitely you're gonna color it. 'Cause Dr. Rosaen said that you, it doesn't matter that the whole picture's full, and you kept saying, "Well, if we're gonna make that, if we're gonna make that painting thing." Do we make a

picture on it? (pause) Heidi keeps saying that everything's too big, or every, or we already have enough things.

Heidi's continued control over the content of the picture reduced the academic content of the talk to mere communication about decisions Heidi had already made or would make. While there was much talk about what Heidi wanted, why she wanted it or what standards would be used to judge the merits of her decision did not enter the conversation. With this limitation on the talk, the group could not benefit from the thinking that lay behind her decisions as main author of the alphabet page.

Segment V, the challenge (see Table 7), contains a series of challenges to Heidi's dominance in the group. As Tiffany asserted that she wanted to include one more detail, a fish, and Heidi rejected her idea, Nan stated explicitly that Heidi was moving into their territory based on their working agreement about the jobs they would fulfill. She also drew on the teacher's authority to affirm her position. This challenge was supported by Tiffany when she summarized Michelle's job also, even though Michelle was not present during this portion because she was working at the computer:

Nan: Where are my scissors?

Tiffany: Let me use them. We've got to have one more.

Michelle: Uh uh.

Heidi: You can but you don't have to.

Nan: We have, we're doing, we're gonna try to do the details so we can put what we want. I'm not being mean, but. . .

Heidi: But it's too big . . .

Nan I can do something.

Tiffany: No it's not. There's a lot of big things on the ocean.

Nan: Heidi, you think, you always say that there's not enough stuff on the paper. You keep saying that . . .

Heidi: Well then give me the book, I've got the book.

Nan: Heidi, you keep saying that there's not enough, that there's too many things on the paper and Dr. Rosaen, and it's up to us for the details.

Heidi: It's not totally up to you.

Nan: But we get to pick ones that we want.

Tiffany: It's really up to us. Michelle gets to choose the writing and where it goes.

Heidi: I helped her. She doesn't get to choose where it goes. We all do.

Nan: Yeah, we have to do the thing, sentence.

Heidi: I know.

Nan: I don't think we can put more things on 'cause where are we gonna put the sentence?

Tiffany: I know what I'm putting on. I'm putting on a fish coming from the side.

Nan: Where? It can't go there. That's where the sentence is going.

Tiffany: OK. She didn't put those (inaudible) where we could get a whole bunch of (inaudible) and they're in the way.

Nan: Yeah, I know. We've got to have more than one thing.

Heidi: But these don't start with d. We've got to find things that start with d too. Yeah but see on the cat page there are a whole bunch of things that start with c.

Nan: Yeah, but not all of them. You don't have to have everything starting with a d.

Heidi: I know, that's what I said I need some things that start with (inaudible).

Nan: Oh, you mean the painting thing? (pause)

When Heidi was confronted with this alliance based on defined jobs, she shifted to discussing the task definition and argued that the task required a different approach to the way Tiffany and Nan did their jobs. Nan and Tiffany rejected her logic by responding that not all details have to begin with d. Personal choice again seemed to be the basis on which individuals would argue for their own ideas to be included.

Tiffany's challenge seemed to be at least temporarily successful, since Heidi began to puzzle over ways the sentence could be arranged and still include the fish in the picture. However, as Michelle returned from the computer and the conversation about word arrangement proceeded, Heidi reasserted her control by offering an "awesome" idea, and beginning to tackle the task. She met another challenge along the way, this time from Michelle:

Heidi: We could have it here but it would be hiding the words.

Tiffany: It won't be hiding anything.

Rosaen: You know, you can cut these words as separate words and arrange them any way you want. You don't have to have them in a . . .

Nan: (inaudible)

Rosaen: You can put them all in one line right across the top.

Nan: Do you think that's good so far?

Rosaen: I think it looks wonderful. You know, another idea if you want to, you can use paint like this to fill in the background.

[a brief interruption from another student]

Heidi: Awesome! I have a way to put them on the paper! So it looks like it's wavy and make waves like this, so it looks like they're kind of floating.

Michelle: OK, cut out the words?

Heidi: Cut out the words. Just cut out piece by piece words.

Nan: How are we gonna (inaudible)?

Heidi: We're gonna make it right here.

Nan: What, what . . .

Heidi: This, over here.

Nan: I know, but . . .

Heidi: I don't know if we're gonna use that. I don't know if we've got room for it.

Nan: So color this.

Michelle: What's that?

Nan: That's like just a fish.

Michelle: A fish. I like it. It's cute.

Nan: Me and her is doing the details, so we put, we just put . . .

Michelle: I just wondered.

Nan: I know.

Heidi: OK, don't (pause), Michelle, can I use your colors so I have more colors of grey that I can choose from?

Michelle Yeah (inaudible).

Nan: Then you got to do different colors (inaudible). I'm gonna watch you color.

Michelle: We have to find details.

Nan: We don't want no more details. We've looked in every single magazine.

(inaudible)

Heidi: Can I cut them out, please?

Michelle: I want to.

Heidi: OK, let me cut out this part.

Michelle: Uh uh!

Heidi: I need it right now!

Michelle: I'll do that next!

Heidi: Are you taking time or are you just sitting here cutting out really slow?

Michelle's use of her job to defend her rights worked in that instance. The girls continued to discuss the placement of details in the picture and whether they liked the way it looked or not. Then Heidi resumed her role as leader to remind the group of the task requirements. This led to another struggle over job definitions, and Michelle's claims that nobody liked her ideas, which yielded no response from the group as they continued working silently:

Heidi: We need stuff that starts with d, like things that can go at the bottom of the ocean.

Michelle: Heidi, look, we could glue them together like this.

Heidi: I'm gonna make it wavy.

Tiffany: Let me and her take the water color to it.

Michelle: I get to do it. Remember, I'm writer.

Heidi: Remember, it'd look more, it'd look more like this.

(inaudible--overlapping)

??: You're on my foot, Michelle.

Nan: Michelle doesn't get to think of the idea of a way to put it. All of us (inaudible).

Michelle: Nobody likes my ideas! They're always stupid!

In contrast to her more dominant role within the group of four, Heidi's behavior in front of the teacher was a little different, as though she knew what collaboration was supposed to look like in the teacher's eyes. When Rosaen came around and asked what the group had decided about arranging the sentence, Heidi replied, "I think so. Do you guys want to make it like that, have the letters go like this?" She had not consulted the group previously on decisions. When Rosaen left the group, the conversation continued as a negotiation and a struggle, with Tiffany picking up on Michelle's theme and commenting that nobody was listening to her:

Michelle: No, I mean I'm gonna put them on. You guys can tell me how you want me to put them on. Ooooh! I'm doing them (inaudible) you. You're not the boss of me.

Heidi: (inaudible) go like this, and back up . . .

Tiffany: Would that work?

Heidi: . . . and back up and then like this.

Tiffany: Would that work? You guys, would this work?

Heidi: What?

Tiffany: All right, nobody's listening to me.

Even after I asked the class to clean up for recess time, Michelle, Heidi and Nan continued to negotiate the arrangement, again based on personal choice:

Michelle: Heidi!

Heidi: What?

Michelle: How does this word look? (pause) You don't like anything!

Nan: You want it like this?

Michelle: I just said I don't like it that way.

Nan: I didn't say I don't like it that way, I just said (inaudible).

Michelle: (inaudible) all I said.

??: (inaudible)

Rosaen: I don't know if you can stay in when she has recess duty. I'm not sure about that.

??: I hope we can.

Michelle: Oh, I know, I know, I know, Heidi!

Heidi: What?

Michelle: I'm gonna cut that (inaudible).

Heidi: Make him like this. Like this.

Michelle: Wait.

Heidi: A dolphin dance (inaudible). A dolphin . . .

Michelle: . . . daintily . . .

Heidi: . . . delightly drawing (inaudible)

Rosaen: (to class) OK, I need to see some people helping clean up the floor. I see some scrap paper on the floor.

Heidi: . . . dog. . . daint . . .

Michelle: No, go down

(inaudible)

Michelle: And that's how much is drawn so far? (pause) Looks good.

There were many sources of struggle throughout this group work that centered mostly around issues of power and authority in completing the assigned task. When rights were questioned, they were discussed in relation to each person's job and how the job defined boundaries. The jobs were defined as tasks to complete--find pictures of details, draw a picture, write a sentence--and decision-making territory to claim. Except for a few instances when Nan became excited about the content of the sentence (that it was funny) or wanted to find lots of details, there was little focused discussion of subject matter or the composing process. Most of the content was negotiated via the person's role and sense of personal preference rather than in relation to the actual audience (the group) or the potential audience (the class) for the alphabet page.

When Lindquist asked the students to answer a set of questions in their journals to reflect on the Animalia project, it became apparent that Heidi and Nan were not blind to some of the problems and struggles that arose. The questions were as follows:

1. What did you like about your Animalia page?
2. What did you learn about what it takes to create a book like Animalia?
3. How did you feel about working in your group? What worked and what didn't work? Problems?
4. How did the collaboration help make it better?
5. Was this a writing project? Why or why not?

Figure 3 shows Nan's written response in her journal reflections. Her thoughts in response to Question 3 reveal her awareness of the struggles over jobs, and the fact that people did not like each other's ideas. Yet she seemed to be reluctant to criticize the collaborative process, still saying it "felt good" and that the collaboration made their page a lot better (Answer 4). Figure 4 shows Heidi's response in her journal reflection, which alluded to her group's problems in her answer to Question 2. She became more explicit in her response to Question 3 by

saying she thought her group needed to improve, although she was not specific about what that would mean.

Phase I: Curriculum, Learning Community, and Teacher and Student Roles

As I analyzed these conversations in relation to the social relations and academic participation that unfolded within the group, I was also aware of the larger context in which the group work took place (see Table 3, Phase I, Laying Groundwork). Recall that this unit took place early in the school year and developing our learning community as a learning setting was an explicit curricular goal at this time. In retrospect we can see areas where the decisions we made as teachers may have influenced our students to focus their attention differently than intended. Our learning community was not yet a learning setting, but instead maintained the flavor and focus of a work setting (Marshall, 1990).

Of fundamental importance is the issue of the nature of the task we chose for supporting our students in learning to collaborate. We wanted to teach our students to collaborate as authors, and yet we assigned them a product to create without involving them in major decisions that authors make. For example, authors typically decide with whom they will collaborate, the topic and form of writing, and the timetable for completion. And if they decide to collaborate, it would most likely be on the basis of each person's potential contribution to the task. The heavy emphasis on developing social relations during this project probably should be attributed to more than the fact that this was the beginning of the year. It makes sense that four people thrown together to complete a task of someone else's choosing would likely have more invested in how they will get through the experience than in what they will create.

The lack of emphasis on the academic aspects of the task (e.g., learning to explore ideas together and benefit from each others' response throughout the composing process) was most likely influenced by the students' shared definition of

10-5-90

I Like The dofien [Heidi]
Did The dofien and She Did good I
Like The whay She put Things on
The dofien That a dofien DOS not
Have.

Learn That The pag DOS not have
To Be amie it will not Look good
if you DOT put a LOT of Things in
it.

(3) I feelt good But we all Did not Like
Tint athers paper, Idees and we had
a hard Time Doing Jobs brooms one
whot TO Be one Thing and The dotre
whot TO Be it TO But we got
it good.

(4) It mad are thig a LOT bater like
But we TOlk a LOT about Things what?
That we Sond have not ben Telling
about. men things

5. ~~It wos a project Becous~~
~~we had To Do writing and coloring.~~
yes it wos a writing project
we had To Do paniting and colering.

Figure 3. Nan's Journal Reflections.

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10-8-90

①I Think I like our main our dolpnin It was cute sopposed to be a french painter.

②It takes alot of work and grou coperation, you have to dicuss the project and work together or yo will probaly have alot of problems

Can you think of ways to work on this?

③Our group has to inprove in group activates I think. We had a few problems like who would do what and what we need to have in our picture.

④Well the parts are inportent, [Heidi] - I did the main part because people say I'm a good drawer [Michelle] She did the writeing she helped with other things too. [Tiffany] - She did detials and ~~she~~ did them on the computer but she did [Nan] - She did details but good she fighted to much but she did o.k.

⑤I think it was a writing proess because wrote and worked together.

Figure 4. Heidi's journal reflections.

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the task. They had an assignment to complete, not a piece to compose. They had jobs to complete, not talents to discover and realize through the creative process. Given these as shared goals, the emphasis in their attention, discussion and participation makes sense. Now that this path had been laid early in their school year, would Nan and Heidi revise their roles, goals and actions?

Collaboration as a Partnership Between Authors

By early March, our students were familiar with the new routines that were implemented during Phase II, Initiation (see Table 4), and in Phase III, Delving More Deeply into Authorship, we had begun our study of what authors do, value, and think about as part of their work (see Authors' Design, Table 5). We intended for the routines to enable a collaborative culture to develop in the classroom and to support students in developing the personal qualities required of a member of a collaborative culture (see Table 2). Additionally, we wanted students to experience and embrace collaborative responsibilities within the classroom. This included tackling joint problems and questions of mutual interest and working toward shared goals with a sense of positive interdependence. We felt that these areas of growth and development were essential for social construction of knowledge. Our own roles and responsibilities as teachers would also need to shift so that students could share control of the curriculum with us and so we could join our students in pursuing genuine, meaningful, and authentic problems in our learning community.

Heidi's and Nan's March 5 conversation took place during individual writing time in writers' workshop. On that day students wrote first, followed by a mini-lesson connected to our Authors' Design unit. Many students in the class had begun writing stories that centered around teenage life, and most sharing sessions included hearing drafts of at least one person's version. Moreover, many students were collaborating in writing their stories. One example that particularly stands out is when Sarah and Maria wrote the first three chapters of a teen life story, and then they were joined by

Jake who wrote chapters four and five. Nan and Heidi were also collaborating on writing their own teenage story. As shown in Table 8, Heidi and Nan's conversation unfolded in six segments: establishing symmetry and planning the story, composing chapter 1, sharing and learning with the teacher, composing and not sharing, sharing with the teacher, and composing. I used these segments to organize my analysis of the academic and social aspects of their talk (see Table 1).

In the discussion that follows, I will show that although the amount of participation by Heidi and Nan looks similar in the October 3 and March 5 conversations, the way their social and academic participation unfolded is actually quite different. Table 9 provides an overview of the turn taking. It shows that in the October conversations Nan had greater participation than Heidi on October 1 but not on October 3. However, as discussed in the previous section, the amount of participation did not necessarily indicate who had greater control of the content of the conversations and of the decision-making process. In the October 1 conversation, Nan took the leadership role in one segment but shared control with Heidi in another. Heidi controlled most of the decisions on October 3 even though the number of turns was almost equal.

The first segment of the March 5 conversation, establishing symmetry and planning the story (see Table 8), contains almost equal turns for Heidi (34) and Nan (32). Michelle was not working with the two girls, but made a few comments about their story to them as they worked (3 turns). Instead of bringing Michelle into the conversation, Nan excluded her. As they began their work, Nan and Heidi established quickly (at Heidi's suggestion) a working consensus that they would begin with a prewriting strategy to plan their story. This was a strategy they had learned to use during Phase I:

> Nan: I want it to become like one day, Heidi, they're 18 and they decide to (inaudible), and then they got a boyfriend. They went to the mall.

Table 8

Summary of Analysis of Talk During March 5 Writing Time

Social Aspects of Talk		Academic Aspects of Talk	
What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the social relations and how are they achieved?	What content is talked about?	What is the nature of the content and how is the content of the talk achieved?
Segment I: Establishing Symmetry and Planning the Story			
*working consensus: plan story (prewriting)	*roles & turns: H: author, partner (34 turns) N: author, partner (32 turns) M: outsider (3 turns) *H and N establish symmetry by defining and agreeing on task *task definition initiated by H *when H tries to bring task to a close, N continues on; H accepts continuation *mutual agreement as to when to move on	*strategy for writing story (prewriting) *characters, context, plot *chapters, chapter titles *story title	*brainstorming, prewriting to plan story *chunking ideas into chapters *exploration, idea exchange *H and N both have authority for accepting or rejecting ideas

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Table 8 (Cont.)

Segment II: Composing Chapter 1			
*working consensus: begin composing *N asks H why she is skipping lines on draft	*roles & turns: H: author, partner (13 turns) N: author, partner (12 turns) M: outsider (1 turn) *sharing of turns to carry out the partnership	*opening dialogue	*jointly compose dialogue *exploration, idea exchange *H and N both have authority for accepting or rejecting ideas
Segment III: Sharing and Learning with the Teacher			
*working consensus: share draft and discuss future ideas	*roles & turns: N: author, partner (11 turns) H: author, partner (12 turns) R: audience, teacher (9 turns) *N initiates sharing *H says N should read, corrects her as she reads *H begins to share future ideas, N joins in	*reading draft (dialogue) to teacher *universality of mistaken identify with twins in literature *punctuation of dialogue	*R uses "teachable moment" to discuss universality in literature and punctuation of dialogue *R responds to dialogue *H and N choose to share with a teacher, not fellow classmates

Table 8 (Cont.)

Segment IV: Composing and not Sharing			
*working consensus: continue composing privately *H and N explain to Ed that they are not done yet	*roles & turns: H: author, partner (8 turns) N: author, partner (6 turns) Ed: outsider (4 turns) M: outsider (1 turn) *joint composing continues *Ed's interest in draft is treated as interruption *H and N jointly exclude Ed and M	*composing narration	*jointly compose narration *exploration, idea exchange *H and N both have authority for accepting or rejecting ideas
Segment V: Sharing with the Teacher			
*working consensus: we're making a story together	*roles & turns: H: author, partner (7 turns) N: author, partner (8 turns) L: audience (1 turn) *N initiates sharing *H & N talk about story rather than reading	*plot summary *plans to share with class	*joint responsibility for sharing
Segment VI: Composing			
*working consensus: composing	*roles & turns: H: author, partner (6 turns) N: author, partner (7 turns) L: teacher (1 turn)	*planning next events in story	*jointly plan next segment of story *exploration, idea exchange *H and N both have authority for accepting or rejecting ideas

Table 9

Summary of Turn Taking Across Three Conversations

	Tiffany	Mich.	Ed	Heidi	Nan	Lind.	Rosaen	Total
Oct. 1			not					
# turns	8	37	present	39	71	16	--	171
% turns	5 %	21%	--	23%	42%	9%	--	100%
Oct. 3			not					
# turns	27	54	present	89	95	9	21	296
% turns	9%	18%	--	30%	32%	3%	7%	99%
March 5	not							
# turns	present	6	4	80	76	1	9	176
% turns	--	3%	2%	46%	43%	<1%	5%	99%

Heidi: They got to the mall and (inaudible)

Nan: We've got to kind of make it a story. I want to kind of be like they got to the mall and they saw these cute boys and they're flirting . . .

Heidi: How about first we're gonna make it, make, um, ideas? Want to make ideas?

Nan: OK.

Heidi: It's gonna be like a prewriting, a prewriting activity then.

Nan: I want it to be kind of ideas--I got an idea. Put down that me and you were 18 and we went to a mansion (inaudible) . . .

Heidi: Eighteen, rich and . . .

Nan: Rich . . .

Heidi: Rich (inaudible). I think it'd be a better idea 'cause like 18-year-olds wouldn't go to a mansion. I think it'd be better if like we lived in a mansion because we're rich and our parents died so (inaudible) . . .

Nan: Oh yeah, OK . . .

Michelle: Usually an 18-year-old doesn't live in a mansion by theirselves . . .

Nan: We know. Shut up (says under her breath)

Michelle: Unless they have . . .

Nan: it would be too big--they would get lost.

Heidi: (inaudible) I have 20 dollars.

Nan: (inaudible)

Heidi: It wouldn't be possible.

As they continued their prewriting strategy, the symmetry in their relationship unfolded. As one person offered an idea, the other elaborated on it and continued on. Each person's ideas were valued and used in the composing process. When Heidi suggested that they check with classmates to make sure they could use their names in the story, Nan revised Heidi's plan and suggested they worry about

that later. Unlike in the October conversations, Heidi accepted the revision instead of asserting for her original idea:

Heidi: (inaudible) we skipped college. OK, no college.

Nan: They didn't go to college. Then we . . .

Heidi: No money for college because our parents died.

Michelle: Your parents died?

Nan: No, we went, and then we have money if we have parties. Yeah, we have a lot of parties.

Heidi: Lots of money, lots from parents.

Nan: We have parties every Friday.

Heidi: Every Friday, good, every Friday parties.

(inaudible portion)

Heidi: We should ask people if we can do this unless we just make up names.

Nan: We can make up the characters and everything after the ideas. Every Friday, party, OK. We go to the mall every Monday.

Heidi: Oops (laughs), mall Monday.

Nan: Then one time when we go to the mall we meet guys.

Heidi: We meet guys (laughter).

Nan: We meet guys.

Heidi: We're flirting.

When Heidi tried to bring the prewriting task to a close, Nan revised the plan again by saying she had one more idea and continued on to explain it. Instead of insisting that they move along, Heidi accepted her idea. They then shifted together into chunking the ideas they had generated into some tentative chapter titles:

Nan: And then, I forgot what we were saying, we ask the boys out one day instead of having a party.

Heidi: I think we've got enough ideas together.

Nan: Right now, but one more idea. OK, don't put this down yet. Act like they're gonna be twins (inaudible) and we get mixed up one day and I go with yours and you go with mine (laughs).

Heidi: Mix up.

Nan: That could be the name of the chapter.

Heidi: Yeah.

Nan: OK.

Heidi: One more idea about the end, um, (inaudible)

Nan: OK (laughs).

Heidi: And then chapter 11 . . .

Nan: We come back . . .

Heidi: Chapter 11 . . .

Nan: Come back for Christmas . . .

Heidi: Chapter 11 (inaudible)

(inaudible exchange)

Heidi: So these are the chapter names, now listen, they won't have to be the chapter names but this is what the chapters are about (inaudible). (inaudible) to a real college, that doesn't sound right for a chapter.

Nan: No we can mix that into here.

Heidi: Yeah, we'll mix that into there so we only have 10 chapters.

(inaudible exchange)

Nan: It's just an idea. Every Friday (inaudible).

Heidi: That's a good chapter name (laughs).

Nan: I know.

In this segment Heidi and Nan had a shared definition of the work they were doing together--planning their story--and their actions showed that they valued each others' contributions. Instead of competing for whether their own idea would override the other person's idea, they built on and extended each others' offerings. They explored possibilities jointly and both had authority for accepting or revising

ideas. They both took on the roles of authors and partners; they were people composing together and sharing ideas as well as responsibilities.

During the second segment, composing chapter 1 (see Table 8), they again participated equally (Heidi, 13 turns; Nan, 12 turns) and participated in a partnership between authors. They continued to build on and extend each other's contributions, especially when they were composing dialogue (shown in italics):

Nan: *Where's Mom and Dad?*

Heidi: And then you tell me where they are?

Nan: No, you said, you said, you said, *Where's Mom and Dad?*

Heidi: (inaudible)

(inaudible exchange)

Nan: *Their long deep* (inaudible) . . .

Heidi: No, *their long distance*

Nan: *Their long distance.* I said, what?

(lengthy inaudible exchange)

Heidi: *Heidi said sadly*

Nan: *What do you mean?* Why are you skipping lines?

Heidi: *What do you mean?* (inaudible) *What do you mean? asked Nan.*

Nan: *Dead, gone, kapoosh.*

Michelle: See you later.

Heidi: Adios.

Nan: Or something like that.

Heidi: *Heidi said.*

Nan: *Heidi said, "Gone, dead, kapoosh."*

Heidi: OK, *Heidi said, "Gone (pause), dead (pause)* . . .

Nan: *Kapoosh*

Heidi: (laughs) *Kapoosh.*

(inaudible exchange)

Heidi: Wait a minute. Let me read this. *Dead, gone, kapoosh.* Down the drain.

Nan: Then I say, *Do you really mean it?* (pause) I say, *Do you really mean it?*

Heidi: You say, *Do you really mean it?* and then (inaudible).

The girls' shared and sustained focus on the content of the piece contrasts with their focus in the October conversations about their alphabet page. They were no longer bargaining or voting over territory but instead were navigating territory together with a shared purpose. Even though Heidi took on the role of writer (just as she took on the role of drawing the main picture in October), she did not use her "job" to control the content of the piece.

The third segment, sharing and learning with the teacher (see Table 8, R = Rosaen), again included equal participation, with Heidi taking 12 turns and Nan taking 11. Unlike many instances during the October conversation when a teacher was called over to mediate a dispute or lend some authority to a decision, Nan called me over to share their draft. Heidi suggested Nan do the reading, but easily fit back into the exchange when it came time to summarize their future plans for the story. They alternated contributions and built on each other's ideas during the exchange:

Heidi: Dr. Rosaen.

Nan: Come here, we want to read you something.

Heidi: We have um, we're making a book that's called (inaudible).

Rosaen: Called what?

Heidi and Nan: Girls Just Want to Have Fun.

Rosaen: Uh huh.

Heidi: You tell her.

Nan: (inaudible) *Heather said, Nan, Where's Mom and Dad? said Heidi.*

Heidi: . . . *said Nan* . . .

Nan: . . . *said Nan. "Good morning, Heidi," said Nan, "Where's Mom and Dad?" "Long distance," Heidi said sadly. "What do you mean?" asked Nan. Heidi said, "Gone, dead, kapoosh. Down the drain." Nan said,* (inaudible) *Heidi said sadly.* And then I'm gonna go to my room and cry.

Heidi: And, um, we have ideas that we're gonna like be 20 and we're gonna be rich because our parents (inaudible) and we're gonna live in a mansion . . .

Rosaen: Sounds like fun.

Heidi: . . . and then we didn't go to college . . .

Rosaen: You didn't?

Heidi: We're not . . .

Rosaen: What are you gonna do instead?

Heidi: I don't know.

Nan: And lots of money, and went to a party and then . . .

Heidi: We have lots of . . .

(overlapping talk about ideas for story)

Nan: Then we're alone again . . .

Heidi: . . . we're no more alone . . .

Nan: . . . we're no more alone because we met with the boys and we're not alone again, and then, they go with us . . .

(Heidi laughs)

Nan: . . . and then we get mixed up. See, our boyfriends are twins and one of the twin brothers is going with her and one is going with me and they're twins. And me and her are twins. And one day we get mixed up and I go with her boyfriend and she goes with mine and we get mad at each other.

I took on the role of audience, trying to respond to their piece. I then shifted into the teacher role by pointing out the universality of their mistaken identity plot ideas and helping them with punctuation of their dialogue. I ended by returning to my audience role, by letting them know I liked the way they had written their dialogue:

Rosaen: Did you know that a lot of famous people have written about twins getting mixed up and things? You've got the same ideas that famous writers do. I want to show you something. This sounds like its really going to be fun. Have you ever learned to use quotation marks when you write down dialogue?

Heidi: Yeah, but . . .

Rosaen: I was noticing that Nan was having trouble knowing where the quote stopped and where it (inaudible) said Nan. Do you know why? Do you know why? Because the punctuation mark (inaudible). Where would you add it here just on this one line? (pause) And where else? (pause) Good. Then that would help her be able to read it and make sense of it.

Nan: OK, *"Good morning, Heidi,"* said Nan. *"Where's Mom and Dad?"*

Rosaen: Does that help?

Nan: Yeah.

Rosaen: Yeah. I like your dialogue. It sounds really natural.

During the fourth and fifth segments--composing and not sharing, and sharing with the teacher (see Table 8)--Heidi and Nan made it clear that composing was a private activity for them and that they were in charge of when and if they shared a piece with others in the classroom. As they continued their joint composing of their dialogue, Nan began to wonder if they had developed their ideas enough. When Ed overheard and asked about their piece, his inquiry was not welcomed:

Nan: This chapter's not long enough.

Heidi: We got to write, we also got to write down all this stuff about . . .

Nan: In this same chapter?

Ed: That's only one?

Heidi: We're not done yet.

Ed: It's only one chapter?

Nan: Shut up!

Heidi: We're not done yet! Gosh.

Ed: I know, but you said (inaudible).

Heidi: We still have to put all this stuff in here.

Ed: Boy, that's a lot.

Interestingly, immediately after this rebuff, Heidi eagerly began sharing their story ideas with Lindquist when she passed by and Nan joined in enthusiastically:

Heidi: . . . *followed Nan to her room. I told her about it. I told her all about it. I told her, I told her about* (pause) *about the phone call* (pause) *the phone call from the doctor, from a doctor in Louisiana, from a Louisiana doctor.* (inaudible). We're making a story together.

Lindquist: What's it about?

Nan: Girls just want to have fun.

Heidi: Girls just want to have fun.

Nan: It's about . . .

Heidi: It's about . . .

Nan: Our parents died . . .

Heidi: It's about me and Nan . . .

Nan: Our parents died and we live alone.

Heidi: We're gonna read it tomorrow.

Nan: We get to read our own story.

Heidi: Well, some of it. We might read it.

Nan: We might.

Heidi: Some of it.

Nan: Not all of it--it's going to be long.

Heidi: That part we'll have to read so (inaudible)

Somehow their classmates did not have the same access to their draft as their teachers. Their peers also apparently did not have the same status as their teachers, since Ed's interest was treated as an interruption, whereas both teachers' interest at

this stage was welcomed. Classmates could hear the draft during the regular sharing routine--maybe--and when they decided they were ready.[8]

During the final segment, composing (see Table 8), Nan and Heidi continued composing in the same manner as before, alternating between writing actual words and continuing to plan plot events. This exchange continued across 6 turns for Heidi and 7 turns for Nan until Lindquist directed the class to put their writing folders away and get ready for the mini-lesson.

Phase III: Curriculum, Learning Community, and Teacher and Student Roles

In the section describing our learning community, I indicated that our classroom began to look more like a learning place as the year progressed. Heidi's and Nan's revised goals, roles and actions in the March collaboration seemed to parallel the revisions we made in our learning community (see Table 5, Delving More Deeply Into Authorship). As we shared control of the curriculum with our students, they had more opportunities to develop ownership of their work and engage in joint pursuit of meaningful problems. Heidi and Nan decided on their own to collaborate, and decided on their own that they would write a story that centered around teenagers. Having made these decisions together, there seemed to be less need to define separate jobs or to claim territory. They operated from a basis of respect and trust and valued and honored each other's contributions. These trusting relations enabled them to concentrate more fully on the academic task, composing a story through shared exploration and building of ideas. McDermott (1977) makes clear an important connection between trusting relations and learning:

> Trust is not a property of persons but a product of the work people do to achieve trusting relations, given particular institutional contexts. What I am suggesting is that in contexts that offer teachers and children

---

[8]It should be noted, however, that both Heidi and Nan shared regularly with the class on authors' day throughout November and December. Out of six opportunities to share, they each shared three times. Since sharing time was limited and there were usually more volunteers than there was time to listen, this is a high rate of participation. They did share their story on March 6.

> enough resources to work together to establish a trusting environment, children will have sufficient time and energy to devote themselves to the intellectual tasks set before them. In other words, *trusting relations are framed by the contexts in which people are asked to relate, and where trusting relations occur, learning is a possibility. Where trusting relations are not possible, learning can only result from solitary effort.* (p. 199, emphasis added)

In October, the girls' time and energy was devoted to achieving social relations with little focused on the intellectual work that lay before them. By March, there were more resources available to them to genuinely work together--choice over topic, form and pace of their writing--and they made use of them to create their own collaborative occasion. It became possible for them to participate in and learn from their joint composing task when they operated from a shared definition of the situation, shared goals, and a sense of positive interdependence. It also became possible for two students of varied academic abilities to work together and share their expertise. Heidi was a strong writer who began the year with little trouble participating in class, but she was also a writer who showed little acceptance or appreciation for others' ideas. She learned to appreciate and respect the contributions of a less academically able student and to experience the benefits of shared control over the composing process. Nan, a student with serious reading and writing difficulties, had the opportunity to develop and use writing strategies in the company of a stronger student and to know what it feels like to have her ideas be listened to and valued.

Although the girls' relationship with each other as collaborators developed in positive directions, their relationship with the larger classroom learning community raises some questions. Why were they only willing to share drafts-in-progress with the teachers? Why did they exclude Michelle when she tried to enter into their conversations? Why was Ed's interest treated as an interruption? At what point were they willing to share their draft with the class and for what reasons? These questions cannot be answered specifically with the available data, however, they

point toward some potential problem areas in Heidi's and Nan's development of learning community qualities (see Table 2).

It seems that Nan and Heidi did begin to develop many of the individual qualities we intended, such as personal and active involvement in meaningful and authentic problems, showing ownership and commitment to their own learning, and valuing both the process and products associated with writing. When "group" is defined as "Heidi and Nan," it looks like they also began to embrace collaborative responsibilities by taking on shared goals and tackling joint problems. However, they seem to have isolated themselves from their classmates and did not take responsibility for the learning of all. Nor did they seem to value their peers' ideas and input. Expertise seemed to lie within themselves or their teachers, not within the larger community. They were not always willing to share and revise their ideas with the class. These undeveloped trusting relations with other classmates represent lost learning potential. Learning for them was either solitary or limited to their partnership with each other.

When Is a Classroom a Learning Community?

Studying our improvisations in and revisions of our practice has helped us learn about creating a learning community, and begin to answer our original questions: (a) when and if we and our students are experiencing the kind of learning community we envision and (b) how we can uncover, understand and explain linkages between the qualities of our learning community and student learning. First, the research process pushed us to make explicit the qualities we hope to develop in individuals, in the group, and in the larger classroom culture to foster a learning setting. These lists and ideas have been revised several times and we hope we continue to revise them as we continue our research and teaching. Making our ideas explicit gave us a basis on which to examine the quality of classroom interactions. For example, outsiders looking at the classroom in October and in

March might see the same kinds of things happening--students working in small groups and individually on writing tasks. Yet this study shows how different the interactions were, both socially and academically for the students. Proponents of group work in classrooms (e.g., cooperative learning) have not been naive enough to claim that any group work is great; however, they have given little guidance to teachers in forming a basis on which to decide if the group work was successful and why. This study helped us see that academic and social aspects of talk are linked in important ways and provide important clues to the "success" of any interactions. Classroom teachers should develop and make explicit their own ideas and goals for fostering particular qualities in individuals, the group, and the larger classroom culture. These ideas and goals can be used as a tool to decide when and if their classroom becomes such a community.

This study also illustrates ways to understand better the linkages between social and academic aspects of talk in classrooms. By considering both the content and processes associated with social and academic interaction (Table 1), the emphasis for students in any particular exchange becomes clearer. Moreover, ways in which one aspect may support or interfere with the other also becomes apparent. By contrasting the March example with the conversations that took place in October, ways in which trusting relations enabled a focus on the intellectual tasks at hand (or not) were revealed (McDermott, 1977). Close examination of the March example also revealed areas in which Nan and Heidi made successful linkages in their social and academic participation (with each other) and areas in which they were less successful (with the class as a whole). The methodology developed in this study may help teachers and researchers uncover and understand other linkages that were not revealed here. This methodology could be developed further by pursuing with students (through interviews, journal entries, and so on) their perceptions of their goals, roles and actions as collaborators in the composing process.

Finally, as teachers interact with their students and listen to students interact with each other, they can become more sensitive to both their academic and social participation and progress. Let's return to the end of the year interview in which Heidi and Nan participated and review their thoughts about collaboration:

> Nan: It means to talk, to talk together. . . . Because it gives you more ideas for your stories. It just helps a lot because you hear a lot more ideas, then you can do your stories better.
>
> Heidi: I think collaborating is working with other people, not just one specific person, it's working with other people learning different thoughts from different people.

The social and academic aspects of their talk are more prominent and visible now after thinking about ways in which they revised their goals, roles, and actions as collaborators across the school year. We can see now that these statements carry with them a history and development that teach us a great deal about changes the girls experienced. We have a richer picture of what it means to Nan to get more ideas as an author. We can also understand how Heidi learned how to listen to and learn from Nan, her partner in the composing process. When we listened for both social and academic significance in their conversations, we were able to learn more about Heidi's and Nan's progress as collaborators in our writers' workshop.

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